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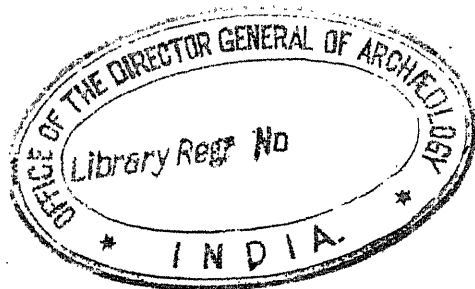
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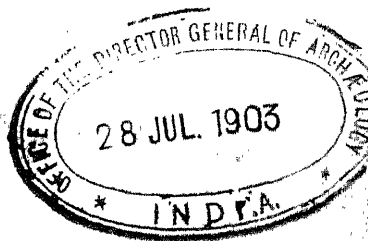
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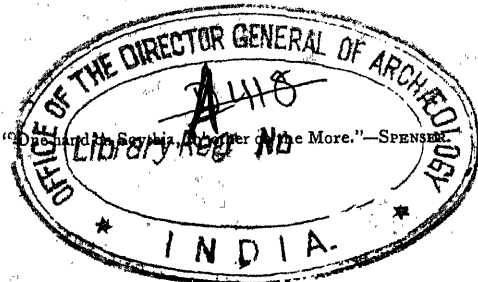
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## BONDS OF EMPIRE.

BY THE HON. MR. C. L. TUPPER, C.S.I.

To bind men close there are three ties  
In that great Empire whose behest  
Is owned by millions East and West,  
And in far Southern Colonies.

One is—to jointly fight with wrong  
And folly, in the sacred cause  
Of justice and well-ordered laws,  
And all that makes an empire strong.

Another is—to claim as friends,  
Each aiding each, a band of those  
Who battle with the self-same foes,  
Unwearied, for the self-same ends.

And this the third—as life outruns  
Its fresher youth, that we behold  
The same supreme devotion mould  
The aspirations of our sons.

Be this our watchword, big with fate  
Of many peoples, many lands,  
To English hearts and English hands—  
Pass on the vigour of the State;

Which shall not fail while nations last,  
If friends with friends, in zeal for right,  
And sons with fathers, all unite  
To keep the bonds of Empire fast.



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1902.

IS THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF INDIA A  
FAILURE AS REGARDS MORAL TRAINING ?\*

BY D. DUNCAN, LL.D.  
(Late Director of Public Instruction, Madras.)

I. *The Question to be Discussed.*—Is the educational system of India a failure? In answering this question in the negative, the most ardent defenders of that system will not be understood to mean that it is not susceptible of improvement. As a matter of fact, there is no finality either in the aims or in the methods of education in any country, that being the best system which can the most readily readjust itself to the ever-changing circumstances of the community. As for adverse criticism, I have no concern with those who content themselves with vague denunciation. But when it is said that education in India has failed, inasmuch as it trains the memory, instead of the reasoning powers; or that it produces imitators instead of independent thinkers; or that it is concerned with words and books instead of the phenomena and laws of nature; or that it fits youths for the desk instead of preparing them for industrial and commercial pursuits; or that it fosters discontent owing to the market for brains and manual dexterity having little demand for the products of the schools; or that, in the pursuit of intellectual acquirements, it neglects the training of the affections and the will and

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.



the formation of character—when defects are thus specified, they call for earnest consideration. I propose to confine myself to the defect last alluded to: the alleged failure of education in India to cultivate the religious and moral side of the character.

2. *Recent Utterances on Religious Education in India: Secular Education said to be a Failure.*—This question has recently attracted more than the usual degree of attention. In June, 1900, a paper was read at a meeting of the East India Association by Mr. R. Maconachie on "The Desirability of a Definite Recognition of the Religious Element in Government Education in India." Among those that took part in the discussion were some who had spent the best part of their lives in India, and almost all of them spoke from personal knowledge of the country. In India the question has been revived by the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Of the contributions they have made towards a solution of the question the most important in point of intrinsic value are those of Bishop Whitehead of Madras, who brings to bear on it an accurate knowledge gained from long Indian experience, a statesmanlike breadth of view, and a judgment chastened by a sense of the enormous difficulty of the problem. But the pronouncement that has attracted the most attention is that of Bishop Welldon. Preaching in Calcutta on January 6, he startled India, from Cape Comorin to Peshawar, by what was understood to be a suggestion that Government should set aside the principle of religious neutrality. Notwithstanding the spread of enlightenment, it is still a dangerous thing even to appear to meddle with religion in India, and when it was telegraphed throughout the country that the highest ecclesiastical authority had advocated the reading of the Bible in all Government schools, the recommendation was met by strong expressions of disapproval. And although a fuller report showed that the Metropolitan's views were not so subversive of the declared policy of Government as at first supposed, the opposition continued strong enough and widespread enough to serve as a reminder

of the inflammable nature of religious feeling in India. "It is possible," said Bishop Welldon—"I will not say more—that before the new-born century passes to its grave the Government will feel able to enter upon a more religious educational policy. So long as there is no abuse of the religions of India, so long as there is no attempt to effect conversions by official influence, the people of India are not only willing, but, I think, even anxious, that their children should receive a religious education. It would be a great reform, then, if it were one day feasible that in all schools and colleges the simple reading of the Bible, or certain parts of the Bible, should be permitted, provided always that any parent who objected to such reading should be readily allowed, under a conscience clause, to withdraw his children from being present at it." Even with this full statement before them the Indian newspapers, as the *Madras Mail* expresses it, "still found in the Metropolitan's words a suggestion which ran counter to all the pledges of religious impartiality, which forms the basis of British rule in India." The Bishop took an early opportunity to define his position in an address to students at Trichinopoly, in which he said that he was "conscientiously and consistently opposed to any action on the part of Government tending to interfere with the cause of religious freedom in India." A like disclaimer came from the Bishop of Bombay. To thrust religious teaching on the natives would be "in violence of all the undertakings given by a long list of statesmen."

"It is generally admitted," says Bishop Welldon, "that a secular education has proved a lamentable failure." If it "continues, the British Government of India (apart from such efforts as Christian missionaries may make) will find itself confronted ultimately by the problem of a vast population 'having no hope, and without God in the world.'" "It has proved," says Bishop Whitehead, "and is proving a more disastrous failure" in India than in Australia, "where it has had a fair trial and full swing." Bishop

MacArthur of Bombay considers that "the great defect of education, as at present organized, is the absence, except under Christian auspices, of moral and spiritual influences." "As a fact," says Mr. Maconachie, "under the Government system of education no appreciable rise in morality can be observed. The official system of education has done nothing, or worse than nothing." Mission-schools have had a far-reaching influence. "But this only throws into darker relief the evil wrought by the Government schools; the success, indeed, of the one is as marked as the failure of the other. Statistics on such a point are not to be had, but I think it right to give my personal testimony that, whenever I met any young man in India who seemed above his fellows in morality, inquiry always, as far as I can remember, elicited the fact that he had either been at a mission-school or had come in some way under the personal influence, if not the teaching, of a missionary." No one will object to Mr. Maconachie's statement of his experience; but it is a pity he did not perceive that it is hardly wide enough to support his general proposition, in proof of which he brings forward no other evidence.

3. *What the Indian System of Education is.*—Such being the alleged lamentable results of the system of education, it may be well to inquire what that system is. This is rendered all the more necessary by the circumstance that a writer in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* tries to show "how completely Mr. Maconachie misapprehends what the Government 'system' really is. His misapprehension is too common with the public, and appears to have been allowed to pass without correction by those who spoke at the meeting of the East India Association." The writer then gives his views as to "what the system of education is which the Indian State has established and wishes to develop to the full." According to him, "the only system recognised in the Despatch [of 1854] is that of the effort of private individuals and bodies, assisted by grants-in-aid, carried on under strict conditions of inspection and regulation, supplemented by a liberal scheme of scholar-

ships, and culminating in the examinations of the Universities which the Despatch summoned into being. This alone can in any proper sense be called 'the official system' of education. Institutions conducted by Government officials, however useful or necessary they may be, stand entirely outside the general system." Confining the system within these limits, the writer has no difficulty in showing that it does not exclude religion, but that, on the contrary, it "is meant to give the freest scope to religion and morality in education."

This attempt to represent as the whole what, notwithstanding its importance, is only a part of the general system is very misleading. To give a more accurate idea, let me quote the salient points from the summary of the Despatches of 1854 and 1859, given in the "Report of the Indian Education Commission" appointed in 1882 :

"The Despatch of 1854 commends to the special attention of the Government of India the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular, and prescribes as the means for the attainment of these objects (1) the constitution of a separate department of the Administration for education ; (2) the institution of Universities at the Presidency towns ; (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools ; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number when necessary ; (5) the establishment of new middle schools ; (6) increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education ; and (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid. . . . No Government colleges or schools are to be founded where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with the aid of Government, of meeting the local demand for education ; but new schools and colleges are to be established and temporarily maintained where there is little or no prospect of adequate local effort being made to meet local requirements.

"The second great Despatch on education, that of 1859, reviews the progress made under the earlier Despatch, which it reiterates and confirms, with a single exception, as to the course to be adopted for promoting elementary education. While it records with satisfaction that the system of grants-in-aid has been freely accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, it notes that the native community have failed to co-operate with Government in promoting elementary vernacular education. The efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system are, it points out, likely to create a prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular, and even to compromise its dignity. The

soliciting of contributions from the people is declared inexpedient, and strong doubts are expressed as to the suitability of the grant-in-aid system as hitherto in force for the supply of vernacular education to the masses of the population. Such vernacular instruction should, it is suggested, be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government" ("Report of the Indian Education Commission," paragraph 43).

The Despatches, it will be observed, give no countenance to the contention of the *Madras Christian College Magazine* that Government schools "stand entirely outside the general system." On the contrary, these schools are as truly a part of the system as are those under private management. But in view of the magnitude of the task, the limited funds at the disposal of the State, and the benefits arising from the formation of habits of self-help, schools under private management were to be specially encouraged, and were to take the place of institutions directly managed by the State whenever and wherever this could be done without detriment to education. Neither the resolution of Government appointing the Commission, nor the Report of the Commission, makes any attempt to narrow the application so as to make the system embrace only schools and colleges under private management. Similarly, in the annual reports of the several provinces, and in the quinquennial report to the Government of India, the system is held to embrace all classes of schools and colleges. In accordance with the orders of the Government of India, educational institutions are divided into public and private, according as they do or do not conform to departmental regulations. They are further divided into those under public management and those under private management. The public institutions under public management are (1) those managed by Government; (2) those managed by district or local boards or municipalities; and (3) those managed by Native States. The public schools under private management are (1) aided and (2) unaided. Private institutions are, of course, under private management, and include all indigenous schools. These are not carried on in conformity with Government regulations, are not under inspection, and, though some of them may receive financial help to enable them to increase

their efficiency, they do not come within the regular operations of the grant-in-aid system. Such in outline is the scope of the system of education in India. To endeavour, as does the writer in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, to make it appear as if the system embraced only public institutions under private management and private institutions tends to divert attention to a side issue, and to obscure the main question discussed before the East India Association and dealt with by the Indian Bishops, namely, the want of religious and moral instruction in schools and colleges managed directly or indirectly by Government.

4. *Dogmatic Religious Teaching forbidden only in Schools under Public Management.*—In order to fix the responsibility of the Government of India for the alleged neglect of religious instruction and the consequent moral degradation, it has to be borne in mind that it is only from schools and colleges managed by Government, or by local boards or municipalities, that the dogmatic teaching of religious creeds is excluded. In all other public schools, whether aided or unaided, there is the most complete freedom as regards religious instruction. Not only may the Bible be read, but the other "Sacred Books of the East" as well. Thus, Protestants of every persuasion, Roman Catholics, Hindus of every sect, Muhammadans, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, may in these schools each have their children brought up in their peculiar tenets without let or hindrance from the State. As for private schools, Government interferes with the religious teaching as little as it does with the secular. These schools are carried on by natives for natives, for the most part in the old-fashioned ways; the curriculum, the methods of instruction, the qualifications of the teachers, and the fundamental aim, have all come down from a hoary antiquity, and have been little, if at all, influenced by modern opinions about education. One of their most characteristic features is the importance attached to knowledge bearing on religion and religious worship.

5. *Comparison of Number of Schools in which Religious Instruction is forbidden with Number in which there is*

*Absolute Freedom.*—According to the last Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, there were, on March 31, 1897, under public management, 22,286 institutions with 1,236,488 pupils; and under private management, including private schools, 129,739 institutions with 3,120,382 pupils.\* In other words, 14·6 per cent. of the total number of institutions were under public management and 28·4 per cent. of the total number of pupils were in attendance at such institutions. It follows that only 14·6 per cent. of the institutions are required by Government to confine themselves to secular instruction, and only 28·4 per cent. of the pupils are thus debarred from receiving direct dogmatic religious instruction in school.† Those who think that a secular education has proved a lamentable failure should not forget that in less than 15 per cent. of the total number of schools can Government be held responsible for that failure. Bishop Welldon cannot surely have been aware of this when he said that if the reading of the Bible were permitted in Government schools, “then the British Government would not incur the responsibility of hiding from the people of India the light which God has given it; then it would not leave in darkness the people for whose welfare it must one day give an account; then it would not incur the risk of bringing them up in atheism.” With famine, frontier wars, and pestilence in the land, the Government has surely responsibilities enough already without being held answerable, as the Metropolitan’s words imply, not only for its own schools, but also for the use which the teachers of 85 per cent. of the schools make of that complete freedom of religious teaching which they enjoy. Of the extent to which teachers in non-Government schools take advantage of their freedom it is impossible to speak otherwise than in general terms. On all, except pri-

\* Only 2·5 per cent. of the institutions, with 6·0 per cent. of the pupils, are directly under Government, 12·1 per cent. of the institutions, with 22·4 per cent. of the pupils, belonging to local boards and municipalities.

† These percentages would be somewhat less if schools maintained by certain Native States were excluded, as they should be, seeing that they are outside the control of the Government of India.

vate schools, the pressure of the secular subjects is felt to be heavy. The Bishop of Madras voices the sentiments of missionary managers when he says that "many changes have taken place of recent years which have made the religious education given in missionary colleges more and more difficult to maintain." It is the same with earnest-minded teachers in non-mission schools: they all feel the difficulty, but at the same time the necessity, of striving against the engrossing pursuit of those immediate and tangible results that aid directly in the struggle for existence. The prevalence of this feeling may, I think, be accepted as a guarantee that moral and religious training will not be neglected. So much for religious and moral training in 85 per cent. of the schools and colleges. We shall see presently how it stands with the 15 per cent. maintained by Government or local boards.

6. *Alleged Desire for Religious Instruction.*—It is said that secular education is contrary "to all the habits and dispositions of the Indian people," that there is a growing desire for religious instruction, and that the time is therefore ripe for a more religious attitude being adopted by Government. But Hindus and Muhammadans who desire religious instruction for their children do not contemplate the sapping of the foundations of their own creed by it. On the contrary, they not unfrequently desire religious instruction for the express purpose of checking the undermining influence of Christianity on the native creeds. A Brahman friend of mine, one of the most zealous advocates of religious instruction in school, was wont to urge his fellow-countrymen to see to it that their children were well posted up in the tenets of Hinduism as a safeguard against Christian teaching. Everyone who has followed the course of events during the last quarter of a century is aware of the revival of Hinduism among the educated classes as a counteractive to the spread of the Christian religion. It is true that orthodox Hindus and Muhammadans do send their children to mission-schools, but this is mainly because the school is conveniently situated and the education good and cheap. They



acquiesce in the Bible lesson partly for the sake of the advantages otherwise gained, and partly because they do not look upon it as incompatible with their own creed. Probed to the bottom, the desire for religious instruction resolves itself into a desire on the part of each of the many castes and creeds to see its own shibboleths inculcated. And in wishing that their sectarian creeds should be taught in school at the expense of Government or the taxpayer the people of India are neither better nor worse than the people of this country. For our present purpose, however, the really important question is whether the desire for religious instruction is sufficiently definite, widespread, and strong, not only to justify the adoption of a more religious attitude, but also to guide Government in drawing up a scheme for combining religious with secular instruction in Government and Board Schools. In estimating the prevalence and strength of this desire, as well as the direction in which it tends, one must be guided not so much by the fervour of platform oratory, or the eloquence of leading articles in the press, as by the interest actually taken in the religious exercises of mission-schools, and by the use which teachers in non-Government schools make of the liberty guaranteed to them. So estimated, it will be found, I think, that Government would look to it in vain for help in determining in what manner religious instruction may be secured, whether by the teaching of Christianity alone, or by the concurrent teaching of all the creeds prevailing in India, or by teaching the common or fundamental elements of all religions.

7. *The Teaching of the Bible and Christianity.*—The Government of India being a Christian Government, it is held by many to be its most solemn duty to present the Gospel to the people over whom it has been placed. And what more effectual way of turning them from darkness to light than the inculcation of Christianity during the susceptible years of youth? That compulsion cannot be exercised all are agreed. Pledges deliberately and solemnly made must be fulfilled, and the external security and internal

peace of the Empire must be safeguarded. Few things have done more to strengthen our position than the confidence the people have in the impartiality of Government in all matters relating to religious faith and worship. Compulsion being thus out of the question, would the adoption of a "conscience clause," as suggested by Bishop Welldon, remove all grounds of unreasonable as well as reasonable suspicion? Few who have lived in India long enough to become acquainted with the character and inner workings of native society will give an affirmative answer. Moreover, the introduction of a conscience clause into Government and board schools would probably lead to a demand for it in mission-schools—a demand which would add to the already too numerous difficulties missionaries have to contend with.

Leaving the question of compulsion or no compulsion out of account, have the advocates of a Bible lesson ever asked themselves the question, Where are the teachers to come from? It would be shocking to the feelings of every Christian to leave the Bible to be interpreted by an orthodox Hindu or Muhammadan, or by one professing Buddhism or any of the other religions of India; yet this would have to be done if Bible teaching were prescribed. Even in mission-schools a large proportion, perhaps the majority, of the teachers are non-Christians. The supply of Christian teachers not having kept pace with the growth of mission-schools, the missionary manager has often to decide between the closing of a school or class and the employment of non-Christian instructors. Now, if this be the case with mission-schools, it may be inferred that the dearth of Christian teachers is still greater in the schools managed by Government or by local boards. Most of the teachers in these schools are non-Christian, and it is probably not an exaggeration to say that, in the majority of them, there is not even one Christian on the staff. This scarcity of Christian teachers needs but to be stated to show how utterly impracticable is the suggestion to have a Bible lesson and instruction in Christianity in all Government and board

schools. Nor is the impediment one likely soon to disappear, for no probable spread of Christianity for many a year to come will give the necessary supply of Christian teachers.

It may further be asked whether, even were Christian teachers available, the Bible lesson in schools managed by Government and local boards would have the beneficial effect on the character of the young that is anticipated. Everyone will endorse Bishop Whitehead's remark to the Trichinopoly students, that "religious teaching which is not believed and not acted upon is not only useless, but is often worse than useless. It accustoms the young to palter with religious truth, and to stand face to face with it for many years without even considering it worthy of a serious examination." It is true that English youths in an English school do not engage with much sincerity in the religious exercises of the school, but there is an important difference. The Bible lesson and the religious services connected with it are, in the case of the English youth, in harmony with his home and social life; whereas, in the case of the Indian youth, they conflict in numberless ways with the life he lives at home and in society. To know how to act in such circumstances is often a source of great anxiety even to the missionary school manager. If, on the one hand, under a conscience clause he were to allow pupils to absent themselves from the Bible lesson, the exempted pupils would obtain only such secular instruction as is given in a Government school; if, on the other hand, he were to insist on all pupils taking part in the Bible-lesson and the religious exercises, the effect on non-Christian pupils might be very detrimental. For to be obliged, as a condition of receiving secular instruction, to participate in a worship and show reverence for a creed which they do not venerate, which in their daily life they are wont to hear spoken of with indifference or contempt, and conversion to which would be regarded by their family as the greatest calamity that could befall them—to be forced to do this is not likely to promote the interests of Christianity or to

cultivate habits of sincerity and truthfulness. On the contrary, it would tend to encourage one of the besetting sins of Hindus: their readiness to live a double life—to show an outward acquiescence in the opinions of those in authority, however repugnant such opinions may be to their real convictions.

8. *Concurrent Teaching of all the Creeds.*—It has been suggested that, instead of prescribing Christianity or some one of the religions of India to the exclusion of the others, it would be more equitable to prescribe the concurrent teaching of all the creeds. Merely remarking that one very serious objection to this proposal lies in its assuming all creeds to be of like value, which is very far from being the case, I would ask whether its advocates have considered how it is to be carried out in the daily work of a school. Where all the pupils profess one faith, as in a Muhammadan school, there would be no difficulty; but how about large Hindu schools, with pupils belonging to different sects? Though the term “Hinduism” suggests to an onlooker a unity of creed and worship, the diversities are, nevertheless, many and vital in the eyes of the people themselves; and, as with other religious bodies so with the subdivisions of Hinduism, the smaller the difference between them in faith or practice, the more bitter is the rivalry or animosity, rendering it impossible to entrust to one person the religious instruction of pupils belonging to different sects. When it is remembered that in a large Government school or college there may be Protestants of several denominations, Roman Catholics, Muhammadans, students belonging to different sects of Hindus, Buddhists, and a sprinkling of adherents of several minor cults, the impossibility of carrying out the suggestion will be apparent.

9. *Teaching the Fundamental Truths only.*—But though Government cannot prescribe the teaching of Christianity alone, nor the concurrent teaching of all the creeds, it may be contended that it would be possible to give instruction based on what is common to all religions, avoiding sectarian

differences. In reply, it seems enough to appeal to experience. Even in Christian Britain it has been found next to impossible to allay sectarian suspicion, and what reason is there to believe that unsectarian teaching would prove more acceptable in India? Is there not rather abundant reason to anticipate greater difficulty there than here? For, assuming that the comparative study of religions has advanced far enough to afford data sufficiently well established to form a working basis for the training of the moral nature, the beliefs common to so many diverse creeds must of necessity be not only fewer, but more general and abstract than those to be found among the subdivisions of the Christian faith; and, owing to their generality and abstractness, such common truths would be too attenuated and colourless to exert a powerful and permanent influence on character, and would thus fail to satisfy the advocates of religious instruction. "A religious education," says Bishop Whitehead, "capable of moulding and purifying and strengthening the character, involves very definite instruction as to the existence and nature and will of God and the eternal destiny of the soul after death." To the same effect Mr. Maconachie, while sorrowfully admitting that Christianity and the Bible cannot be prescribed in Government schools, recommends that there should be dogmatic instruction as to "the existence and active government of God as the Moral Ruler of the world." Such conceptions belong to advanced religions, but are not to be found among the fundamental elements common to the religions of India.

10. *Popular Distinction between Secular and Religious Education Untenable.*—The religious difficulty in education is largely due to the setting up of a fictitious distinction between secular and religious. When it is said that mere secular teaching is "divorcing education from religion," it cannot surely be meant that the knowledge of the universe we call science, together with that body of experience which we act upon from hour to hour, is *per se* irreligious. But if nothing more is meant by combining religious with secular

instruction than that literature, science, and art must rest on "a distinctly religious basis," and be pervaded by a religious spirit, there would seem to be little room for controversy as far as education in India is concerned; for the ancient literature, science, and art of India are saturated with religious thought, and, notwithstanding the storm and stress of modern life, books dealing with religion continue to form the largest proportion of Indian publications. These, for the most part, are the books used as text-books in the classical and vernacular languages. We may characterize their contents as puerile heathen superstition, but however little value we attach to the beliefs and sentiments they express or the conduct they inspire, we cannot call them secular in the sense of non-religious or anti-religious. However far below the level of the Bible they may be in our estimation, they occupy in the reverence of Indian parents, teachers, and pupils, the place filled by the Bible in Christian countries. No school in which the "Sacred Books of the East" are studied can be said, in any but a sectarian sense, to have divorced education from religion. Turn now to the English side of the curriculum, which embraces, in addition to the science and art of the West, the masterpieces of English poetry and prose. To say that English literature, science, and art are leavened with the spirit of Christianity, and reflect its ideas and sentiments, is to express only a part of the truth; for all the distinctive moral and religious ideas and sentiments to be found in the Bible are incorporated in our literature, and are the common possession of all who read the English language. And are we not justified in saying that the rising tide of moral opinion in India is due, in no small measure, to the influence of the English literature with which the educated classes made their first acquaintance at school? Let it also be borne in mind that, useful as it may be for scientific purposes to distinguish between the intellectual, the moral, and the religious faculties and capacities, there is no such hard and fast separation of them in actual life. The ideas of the

intellect have affinities, in virtue of which moral and religious emotions crystallize around them. One need not go the length of resolving virtue into knowledge and vice into ignorance ; but it is certain that, the more we awaken intellectual activity, the more do we eliminate the sources of prejudice and passion, and the more effectually do we guard the individual against the temptations of life.

The opponents of so-called secular education make it appear as if there were a difference of aim and method between it and so-called religious education. They make it appear as if, while the so-called religious teacher looks upon the training of the will and affections and the formation of character as the main purposes of education, the so-called secular teacher either ignores these aims altogether, or treats them as subordinate to purely intellectual acquirements. In point of fact, however, there is no such antagonism. On the contrary, all are agreed that the cultivation of character is the main thing. There are, it is true, teachers who in practice forget this, or fail to carry it out, just as there are teachers who never lose sight of it, and are eminently successful in realizing it. But those who fail and those who succeed do not respectively constitute the class of so-called secular and the class of so-called religious teachers. The difference between those who fail and those who succeed is one between individuals, irrespective of whether they are secular teachers or religious teachers. It is necessary to insist on this point, inasmuch as effort for improvement is rendered futile owing to misunderstanding of it. While attention is directed towards the assumed irreligious character of the instruction imparted in Government schools, it is withdrawn from the really vital question, the improvement of the teachers. And by improvement I mean not merely wider and more exact knowledge and higher intellectual acquirements, but loftier moral character and inspiration by more spiritual ideals. If the teacher's moral qualifications are low, he will fail, however elevated be the ethical truths he is called upon

to inculcate. If his spiritual nature is gross, he will be unable, even with the help of the purest religious ideas, to touch the finer threads in the spiritual nature of his pupils.

11. *Sphere of Religion in Moral Training.*—In the discussion on Mr. Maconachie's paper at the meeting of the East India Association, some of the speakers were on their guard against the assumption that there could be no morality without religion. This is not the place or time to debate the question, but I may assume that all are agreed that religious beliefs and feelings exert a powerful influence for good or evil on conduct. Perhaps it would help to a clearer understanding of the policy of the Government of India if the well-known distinction between "theology," or the body of doctrines and beliefs, and "religion," or the aggregate of feelings called forth on contemplation of the Deity, were kept in view. The educational servants of the State are forbidden to inculcate any system of theological dogmas, but they are not debarred from endeavouring to mould and strengthen the character of the young by appealing to their feelings—to their religious feelings no less than to those that are personal and social. In calling to his aid, as motives to right conduct, the religious emotions of his pupils, the teacher commits no breach of religious neutrality, violates no pledge given by Government to treat all castes and creeds alike, breaks no rule laid down for his guidance in the discharge of his duties.

In moral training the teacher has to show certain actions to be right and others wrong, and why they are so, the conceptions of right and wrong becoming clearer in the course of such instruction. He may, if his pupils are very young, content himself at times with an authoritative statement that this is right and that wrong; but he will prefer to teach these as he would other propositions, by appealing to facts. He has further to awaken and foster the emotions that urge to right conduct and act as a barrier against wrong-doing, while weakening those of an opposite tendency. He must endeavour to instil in his pupils an overmastering



love and reverence for doing right and an invincible repugnance to doing wrong. This is the emotional side of conscience, and the teacher has the whole domain of feeling at his disposal. He will strive to store the minds of his pupils with lofty and pure ideals of personal character drawn from religion, poetry, history, daily life, and fiction—ideals around whose standards the moral motives may marshal their forces for the contest between good and evil. But his duty does not end here. He has also to supervise the pupils' conduct from day to day, discouraging and thwarting wayward tendencies as they show themselves, and assisting every effort to withstand the temptations and overcome the difficulties that beset the path of duty. Morality, as an art, is acquired by the doing of right actions. The pupil must enter the arena of moral conflict, grapple with the difficulties and temptations of daily life, and gain strength by the exercise of his faculties. A word of encouragement from the teacher, a helping hand, the removal of an obstacle, may change into a victory what would otherwise be a disastrous defeat. Similarly, a barrier thrown up between the pupil and a contemplated wrong action, a sign of disapproval, if need be, an absolute prohibition, may save him from taking the first step in a downward course.

The moral motive, which it is so desirable to strengthen, may gain or lose by the coalescence with it of the religious emotions. Different theological creeds have different ethical values. The character of the Deity or deities as conceived by the worshipper and embodied in his creed is reflected in his moral code, and his religious feelings serve as motives in favour of the actions deemed to have the Divine approval. When one thinks of the wild immoral excess which the tempestuous violence of religious passion sometimes drives men to, one sees the paramount necessity of knowing the character of the creed before making an appeal on behalf of virtue to the religious feelings of its adherents. How, then, is the teacher in a Government school in India to utilize

the religious emotions of pupils professing creeds of different ethical values? If the feelings are calculated to strengthen the moral motive, their aid is to be sought; if they are such as would weaken the moral motive, or render it altogether inoperative, they ought not to be appealed to. Exercise of the religious emotions in the one case will tend to make them more efficient ministers of good, and abstinence from rousing them in the other case will tend to weaken them, and thus render them less dangerous foes to virtue. In this way, without interfering with the cherished beliefs of the people, the best elements in the religions of India can be utilized in moulding and strengthening the character.

12. *Policy of Government Justified by the Result.*—Finally, I would ask, has not the policy of Government its justification in the result—not in considerations of temporary expediency merely, but in the enduring interests of religion and morality? The growth of a higher moral sense has for years been attracting the attention of sympathetic observers, and has not escaped the notice of Bishop Welldon. “Whatever,” he says, “be the source of the new morality in India, its presence and its progress are not to be denied. It does not as yet touch the people as a whole, but it illumines even now the highest intellects and consciences among them.” That Christianity, both directly and indirectly, has had a large share in bringing about this improvement is undoubtedly true; but many other agencies, such as the press, railways, increased material prosperity, good government, have contributed to elevate the tone of society. May it not be that the despised secular education has been one, and not the least, of the influences that have been making for righteousness? This, at any rate, has been the sustaining hope of the present writer and of many others engaged in secular education in India, just as faith in the efficacy of Christian instruction has helped the missionary teacher to bear up amid many and grave discouragements. But Bishops Welldon and Whitehead and Mr. Maconachie will not admit that any of this moral good

has come out of the Government school. By the side of the bright picture he has drawn of the moral progress of recent years Bishop Welldon places a gloomy sketch of the godless and immoral future which awaits the Indian community. And Bishop Whitehead paints the future in equally dark colours. Secular education, he tells us, "is removing the old landmarks, disintegrating family life, sapping the foundations of society, and bringing the educated classes of India face to face with a moral chaos in which they will find no fixed principles of moral or social life, and no guarantee even of intellectual and material progress." Forecasts like these fill one with terrible forebodings, until one learns from Bishop Welldon that they describe not what will happen under any circumstances, but only what would happen "apart from such efforts as Christian missionaries may make" and apart from "the influence of Christianity." Now, surely we may assume that the efforts of Christian missionaries will not be relaxed, and that the influence of Christianity will continue to make itself felt. And if so, may we not argue in favour of persistence in the policy hitherto pursued,—a policy which gives free scope for the beneficent operation of the manifold agencies that have been working together to raise the tone of Indian society,—instead of counselling a departure from that policy and the entering upon a course the consequences of which would in all probability be disastrous?

## THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AS A CAREER.

By W. EGERTON, I.C.S.

As every day the British public is taking a keener interest in all that concerns its colonies, it has appeared to me that an attempt, in brief compass, to clear up certain misapprehensions which seem to exist regarding the career open to a covenanted Indian civilian in India may not prove uninteresting.

My object is to correct erroneous existing impressions regarding the Indian Civil Service, and to enable those who think of adopting this profession as their career to form an accurate estimate of the advantages and disadvantages which it holds out for them. Nothing is more unsatisfactory either for the well-being of a great public service or for the individuals concerned than the building up of false hopes and illusions which must afterwards cause a fatal reaction, when the truth is discovered. In every profession too many unhappy mortals find out, too late, that they have missed their vocation in life. They are then apt to blame the profession itself instead of their own ignorance and want of forethought. It is better that they should weigh carefully all the issues beforehand and thus avoid, while yet they may, those bitter disappointments which always attend upon disillusionment and which produce that most unfortunate of all consummations—the officer with a grievance.

As an insignificant fraction of the great machine which governs India, I can only express my own individual opinions for what they are worth, without laying any claim to speak on behalf of my fellow-workers. Nor could I obviously, as a public servant, even if I had such a desire, which I have not, presume to criticise any of the measures of the Government which I am privileged to serve. Such remarks as I may make will therefore only deal with subjects of a general character, the knowledge of which is open to anyone who cares to search for it, but which, as far as I can

ascertain, have never been brought into the prominence they deserve. My apology, if one is needed, for writing upon such subjects is that, having about reached the half-way stage in my Indian service, being, in fact,

“Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,”

I should be better able than either the very junior or the very senior civilian to take stock of my surroundings and to compare the prospects of the Indian Civil Service as they appeared before entering it with those that actually appear to the eye of riper judgment. In the case of the junior officer everything is unknown and mysterious, while, on the other hand, the senior officer may have failed to obtain some long-desired promotion, and may therefore take an unduly jaundiced view of the situation. As I have passed the preliminary stage, and have not yet formed hopes that have been disappointed, I trust that my observations will be considered free from the influences of either extreme, and will present an impartial and unbiassed view of the actual state of affairs.

In the first place there exists undoubtedly a wide-spread belief that the Indian civilian is a very highly paid individual, one who may reasonably hope to retire, after a not very prolonged period of service in India, with a considerable fortune. Some light has recently been thrown upon the limitations of a retired civilian's income in an article by Sir Charles Roe, a retired judge of the Punjab Chief Court, contributed to last December's *Nineteenth Century*. These extravagant notions regarding the wealth acquired by a public servant in India are perhaps partly due to the fact that most officers returning to England on leave with the accumulated savings of several years live at a rate which is far beyond their real income. To make such deductions from such premisses is as reasonable as it would be to assert that sailors were inordinately rich because their generous expenditure, whenever they go on shore, is proverbial. But such notions are also partly due to a state of things which existed perhaps a century ago, but which even then was much exaggerated.

Thackeray's picture of "Jos. Sedley," and Macaulay's essays on Clive and Hastings are responsible for a great deal of the current misapprehension. In a later work, "The Competition Walla" of Trevelyan, if my recollection is accurate, it is stated that without undue economy or effort it would be easily possible for an Indian civilian to save some £30,000 sterling out of his salary during his service.\* Such statements, which may hold good of previous times, become crystallized in the mind of the public, and are not easily eradicated when they cease to be in any degree applicable to existing facts. As an instance in point, it is still not uncommon to speak of retired Indian civilians as "Nabobs," a survival of the opulent days of John Company Bahadur. In such an up-to-date work of reference as the "Dictionnaire Classique Universel" (57th edition) I find under the word "Nabob" the following definition: "Prince indien. Fig. : *Se dit de celui qui s'est enrichi dans les Indes.*" In view of the above definition, the fact that this opprobrious title should still cling in popular parlance to the latter-day Indian civilian in his retirement would be ludicrous if it were not also sometimes mischievous in its consequences.

Let us consider the actual facts regarding the recruitment, pay, and prospects of the modern covenanted Indian civilian, and perhaps a different complexion may be thrown upon the popular conception of the ease with which he shakes the fabulous pagoda-tree!

Prior to 1891 the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service was made by means of an annual competitive examination held in London, open to all candidates who fulfilled certain specified conditions, and whose age was over seventeen and under nineteen on the first of January of the particular year. Success in this competitive examination was followed by two years' probation at one of the Universities (generally Oxford

\* Macaulay, at any rate, makes the assertion in very forcible language, and certainly with no intention of overstating the case: "At present a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is fortunate if, *at forty-five*, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year, and *with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds.*" This was written in the year 1840.

or Cambridge was selected), during which three further examinations were held, the subjects being Indian and English law, Oriental languages, Indian History, Political Economy, and others. Failure in the final of these examinations was most serious, as it excluded the probationer altogether from the service, thus turning him adrift at the very awkward age of twenty-one or thereabouts, after an expensive but specialized education of a kind not required as a preliminary to other professions. The consequence of this arrangement was that the majority of candidates left school early and spent several years at a crammer's, as, owing to the system of marking adopted, the chance of success in the competitive examination was very small for those candidates who entered direct from school. This was, in fact, the golden age of the crammer, and something like half the vacancies annually went to those who had sojourned at Powis Square.

There were obvious disadvantages in this system. In the first place the candidates had practically only half the benefit of a public school education, and none of that usually resulting from a University education. Their two years of probation, though spent at a University, were taken up with special instruction lying entirely outside the ordinary Honour Schools curriculum. At the same time it was generally considered that the open examination was so difficult that only the very cream of the public schools could hope to be successful in passing it. The headmasters of public schools naturally expected such pupils to take scholarships, and to distinguish themselves and their schools at Oxford or Cambridge, and they objected strongly to the cramming system. The want of a broad and liberal education was also an undoubted drawback for the probationers themselves, who disliked being a class apart, and their inability to compete with their contemporaries for those academic honours which they might, *ceteris paribus*, justly have hoped to obtain was also a continual source of heart-burning to them.

For these and other reasons the alterations in the system of recruitment, brought into force by Government in 1891, were generally welcomed by all concerned. As far as can be judged from the result of the past few years, these new regulations seem to have done a great deal towards improving the personnel of the service. This may be fairly said without offence to those who joined the service prior to 1891, of whom I myself am one. It is assuredly far better in every way that civilians before coming to India should have had the benefit of a liberal education at one of the great Universities. Those who came out under the former regulations are not required to admit that the later class of civilians were better than themselves or more capable, but the fact remains that these later examinees have received the benefits of a better education, and have had that opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the Honour Schools at Oxford and Cambridge which was denied to most of their immediate predecessors. To adopt the phraseology of Aristotle, the *δύναμις* of the former may have been as great, the *ἐνέργεια* of the latter was greater as it had more scope. And the world in forming its conception of ability not unnaturally prefers actual performance to potential capacity.

Under the present regulations, too, undoubtedly the area of choice is wider and the standard raised accordingly. The marking of examination subjects would also appear to be more favourable to those who have had such an education as is included in the preparation for the Honour Schools of Moderations and Literæ Humaniores at Oxford than to others. In fact, the year before last no less than the first sixteen places at the open examination were claimed by Oxford undergraduates. By the new system the age limit for the competition has been raised to twenty-one and twenty-three, followed by one year's probation, instead of seventeen and nineteen followed by two years' probation. This arrangement, while proving less expensive for Government in the matter of allowances granted to probationers,



has the additional advantage of throwing open the examination to that large proportion of the best educated youth of England, which, after taking a University degree, is waiting doubtfully upon the threshold of life for whatever may turn up. The combination of the Home Civil Service examination with that for the Indian Civil Service has also been a step in the right direction. No preparation of a specialized kind being now required for the open examination, many who would otherwise hesitate to incur the risk and expense involved in such a preparation, and who did not enter the arena under the old regulations, now come forward as competitors. Nothing struck me more, during a recent visit to Oxford, than the change which had come over the whole situation there with regard to the Indian Civil Service. I was assured on the very best authority that the recent opening up of the Indian Civil Service to graduates of the University had gone far to fill the place of fellowships at Oxford, and had thus served a very useful purpose at a time when the finances of nearly every college were suffering from the effects of agricultural depression. The authorities at both Universities now look upon the Indian Civil Service with a favourable eye; formerly it was only at a very few colleges that probationers were allowed to retain scholarships. The fact that a Senior Wrangler, a Fellow of Merton, several double-first and first-class Tripos men, and many others distinguished at the Universities alike in the Honour Schools and in athletics, have entered the Indian Civil Service since the revision of the regulations testifies to the excellence of the new system. The interest of the general public in things Indian is also insensibly stimulated by the action of Government and by the line adopted by the great Universities, for the wider the competition the wider also must be the interests affected.

What, then, are the prospects, other than imaginary, which attract the most highly educated, both mentally and physically, of our British youth, towards India? Are these prospects better than those offered by kindred professions in England or on the Continent, such as the Bar,

Diplomacy, the Home Civil Service, Medicine, or the Army? To answer this all-important question, it is necessary to consider for a little the position occupied in India by that great body known as the covenanted Indian Civil Service, its constitution, its emoluments, and its status both in India and in England.

The organization of the several provincial Civil Services—which, though territorially distinguished, form component parts of the Indian Civil Service—is, if we may compare great things with small, not unlike that of a large English public school. The Lieutenant-Governors may be said to occupy the position of headmasters in their respective provinces, the Secretariat are the assistant-masters, the Commissioners of Divisions are the prefects, and the District Officers or Collectors are the fags. The Government of India, to continue the simile, may well be taken as the counterpart of the Board of Management, while the patron of the school is the Secretary of State. Indeed, an Indian civilian approximates in more senses than one to a school-boy, and his periods of furlough and freedom from responsibility are merely holidays on a larger scale. If the schoolboy has many masters, the same holds equally good of the District Officer. But whereas in a good public school there is not only an acknowledged standard of “good form” but a power of enforcing the observance of the same, vested in and exercised by the members of the school apart from the masters’ authority, the same cannot truly be said of the Indian Civil Service. The absence of such a power of control is unfortunately an inherent and almost inevitable defect in a corps the members of which seldom meet together. It is possible for an officer to complete his whole period of service without so much as having once set eyes on a large number of his contemporaries, even those stationed in his own province. As for those stationed in other parts of India, he sees practically nothing of them. It is, therefore, unfair to blame Indian civilians for an absence of such cohesion and unity as attaches to a military regiment, which is a

compact body of which the members probably meet daily at the same mess. For instance, it is often remarked with some justice that Indian civilians are wanting in that smartness of general appearance and turn-out that distinguishes army men. This is especially the case as regards Bengal, perhaps owing to the scarcity of military stations in that province. On the other hand, Punjab civilians, among whom there is a sprinkling of military men in civil employ, are, as a rule, the smartest in the service, because almost every large civil station in the Punjab is also a military one. Contact with the army exercises a beneficent effect upon the Indian civilian which it is difficult to exaggerate. It gives him that standard of polish and general smartness to work up to which is too often wanting in Mufassal life. It must be remembered that many civilians are isolated for long periods of their service in out of the way places, so much so that the "Jungly Collector" has passed into a by-word. As a rule, therefore, it is not the fault of the service if it is not as smart in appearance as it should be. The difficulty of enforcing a high standard of smartness and good form, such as that which prevails in a crack regiment, is almost insuperable, but something has been done in late years to form a connecting link between individual members of the service by the constitution of an Indian Civil Service Association. This Association has branches for the provinces which elect their own committee of the most influential members of the service, but at present its powers are very limited, and many officers do not belong to it, so that it cannot do as much as it would. When everyone does what is right in his own eyes, it is obvious that sometimes the prestige of the service must suffer. For the whole service is liable to be judged by outsiders according to the actions of any of its members.

In a regiment there is a firm, though unseen, hand kept upon the members composing it, and if any one officer fails in the opinion of his fellows to come up to the standard required for the maintenance of the prestige of the regiment,

he is soon obliged either to leave it or to conform to its traditional requirements. It would, in the opinion of many, be a good thing for the Indian Civil Service if the same unwritten laws could be enforced within it with equal stringency. Apparently the only way to effect this desirable end would be to give the senior and most influential members of the provincial services, as committees of the respective branch associations above mentioned, more powers of control as regards all social matters affecting the prestige of the service. But the problem is one that still requires solution. From all this it will be seen that the Civil Service is not, in reality, such a compact body as it appears to be upon paper. It has never, however, been suggested by its worst enemies that the Civil Service was wanting in a strict sense of duty and a desire to perform its work thoroughly and properly.

With these few remarks upon the question of constitution, I now turn to that of emoluments, a point of great importance for the consideration of prospective civilians. With the question of emoluments, the question of social status is also connected, for in India everyone's official income is accurately known, and official status is largely based upon the amount of rupees drawn as monthly salary. To attempt to reproduce here the equivalent in pounds sterling of the various salaries drawn in the various grades of the Civil Service would serve no useful purpose, and would only burden the reader with troublesome statistics, more easily obtainable from a Government blue-book. But it may be clearly stated, once for all, that the Indian Civil Service is *not* the highly paid service it is generally considered to be by the man in the street. To compare the salary of covenanted civilians with that drawn by other public servants in India is merely misleading. Two blacks do not make a white, and if others are worse off in point of pay than the Indian civilian, it only makes the latter seem well off by comparison. In considering the value to the recipient of the salary actually paid to any Government

official, it is necessary to consider also what he is obliged to do with it. Now, the monthly salary drawn by an Indian civilian, to take a concrete example, in the third grade of Magistrates, is nominally R. 1,500 per mensem, or say £100 sterling. This grade is reached, on an average, after about fourteen years' service in India, though the exact time differs, of course, according to the rate of promotion. An Indian civilian who was twenty-four at the time of leaving England would thus be thirty-eight when he reached this grade, but those who came out under the previous regulations, of course, reached the grade some years earlier. The Indian civilian does not actually draw this sum, however, because heavy deductions on account of income tax, pension fund, etc., are first made from it before he receives it from the Government Treasury. The exchange compensation allowance barely counteracts the income-tax deductions, and a rupee which was once worth over two shillings is now worth about one shilling and fourpence only, a substantial leakage of one-third in the civilian's pay. On the other hand, the prices of almost everything in India have risen enormously since Trevelyan's book was written. Still the salary may seem large upon paper. But out of this the District Officer is expected to do a great deal, and if he does what is expected of him, his pay will not be found too large, perhaps hardly adequate. He must keep up an expensive house, for rents are high; he must furnish it and be prepared to sell at a dead loss whenever he is transferred or leaves India on furlough. It is computed popularly that three such transfers are as disastrous to the finances of the officer concerned as a fire in which his effects have not been insured. And yet an officer may be transferred three times within twelve months! He must entertain well, and dispense hospitality, in some districts more and in some less; he must head every subscription list, for he is His Majesty's chief representative within his own district, and is expected to maintain the prestige of the service. He must keep an army of servants—the average number of an

Indian Magistrate's establishment may be taken at twenty—and if he is to properly supervise his district, which is perhaps as large as two or three English counties, he must keep at his own expense at least three and very often more horses in his stable, as well as a couple of dogcarts. All these horses and carts may have to be sold at a dead loss at any moment. In addition to this, he has many other incidental expenses. When he takes furlough he must do so on half-pay, and the expenses of his necessary journeys to England are enormous. He is not entitled, if married, to free medical attendance for his family, as are military officers, nor can he receive a free passage upon a troop-ship. It is probably not too much to say that the married Indian civilian, unless he has private means to draw upon, so far from being able to save money, has not even the means to pay for those brief sojourns in his native country, or on the Continent, which are necessary, from time to time, for the maintenance of his health and for the proper performance of his duties, after prolonged residence in a trying Eastern climate. As for the assertion that a saving of £30,000 (nearly five lakhs of rupees at the present rate of exchange) could be effected by an Indian civilian out of his salary during a twenty-five or even thirty-five years' service in India, I believe such a thing to be absolutely impossible. If an Indian civilian, without neglecting the obligations of his position, can scrape enough together out of his pay to cover the expenses of furlough or privilege leave, he has done reasonably well. So many do not accomplish even this much! In making these calculations I have taken the case of the married civilian, because not only do most civilians marry, but in any case allowance must be made, when computing the pecuniary advantages and disadvantages of the service, for the not improbable contingency of marriage. For if it be objected that it is unreasonable to take the case of the married officer for such comparison, then it should be declared, once for all, that the pay of the civilian does not enable him to marry. The effect of such a declaration

upon the number and quality of candidates for the next competitive examination may be better imagined than described. I have also taken the case of the District Officer as striking the average between the highest and lowest grades of the service.

With the question of pay is intimately connected that of pension. The idea of this pension looming in the distance is probably one of the chief attractions of the Indian Civil Service to outsiders. It has perhaps won for the Indian civilian the ironical sobriquet of "Heaven-born," though in regard to his residence upon earth—the plains of India—it must be admitted that he has fallen as far as "Lucifer, son of the morning." The pension, in the form of an annuity, which is drawn, after retirement, by every Indian civilian who has qualified for it by twenty-five years' service (twenty-one of which must have been passed actually in India), amounts, after deducting income-tax, to about £950. But it should be recollected that in fund deductions throughout his service, many a civilian has already more than subscribed in full for the equivalent of this annuity which he may never live to receive. This materially detracts from the value of the pension when considered in the light of an advantage possessed by the Civil Service over other professions. If anyone thinks that with such a pension it is easy for a married civilian to live in England after his retirement in a way belitting his position, he has only to read Sir Charles Roe's article on the subject to be instantly undeceived. That these dismal facts are recognised widely by the "emeriti" themselves, is evident from the increasing number of those who prefer to settle down upon the Continent where living is cheaper than in England. And if this pension is insufficient for an ordinary Indian Civil servant retiring after his minimum period of service, *à fortiori* must it be insufficient for the man who has served in India some forty years, and held the highest appointments under Government. Yet the pension of a retired Lieutenant-Governor is precisely the

same as that of any other retired covenanted Indian civilian, and is actually less than the pension of a retired High Court Judge!

It would seem, then, that in this matter of emoluments and pension the Indian Civil Service is not so fabulously well off as is generally supposed, but rather the reverse, when all the risk to health incurred, all the unavoidable expenses, and all the work, undoubtedly heavy and ever increasing in heaviness, are taken into consideration. If, then, the pay in the ordinary grades, which of course varies with promotion, though the pension never varies, is not so great an attraction when compared with that of other professions, as it would appear to be at the first blush, what are the compensations and rewards in the way of power and high office to which an Indian civilian may justly aspire? The summit of ambition for an Indian civilian on the executive side of the service is a Lieutenant-Governorship, on the judicial side a High Court Judgeship. For the purpose of this article it will be enough to consider the prospects of the executive side only, which are admittedly greater than those on the judicial side both in pay and in importance. It will be noted that the post of Chief Justice in any province is not open to members of the Indian Civil Service. There have been, it is true, a few extraordinary and solitary cases in which successful Indian civilians have burst all bounds, and reached appointments not reserved for the Service; such cases, however, are too rare to form more than an exception to the general rule, and include such brilliantly successful Indian careers as those of Lord Lawrence, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Mortimer Durand, and a few others. But even these men, with the exception of Lord Lawrence, the only Indian civilian Viceroy, are probably better known in England for what they did after leaving India, than for the life's work they accomplished in that country. Lord Dufferin once remarked of Indian civilians that they "never advertised" themselves, and in an age of advertisement this may be



sufficient to account for the fact that a man who is great in India is often hardly known in England. The position occupied by an Indian civilian in India may be comparatively good, it may be the highest India has to offer, but what he has to remember is that some day he must leave India for ever and return home. The higher the position he has occupied in India, the greater the wrench when the time for final departure comes. The utmost summit of a civilian's ambition being a Lieutenant-Governorship with its usual accompaniment of a K.C.S.I., it is hard that after thirty or forty years of every official success, a man who has held such a post should have to retire on a scanty pension into comparative obscurity. Large as a Lieutenant-Governor's official salary is upon paper, the demands upon his purse are so great that he cannot hope to save out of it. The difference between the Lieutenant-Governor's position in India and his position in England after his retirement is aptly described by Mr. G. W. Steevens in his admirable book "In India":

"If the Maharaja came to England he would have all our greatest men and fairest women in a ring round him; St. James's and the Mansion House would compete for his smiles, and Windsor would delight to honour him. *When the Lieutenant-Governor comes home the odds are he will take a little place in the country, and be very poor and not over-healthy; and his neighbours, who will find him rather dull, will say that they have heard he was something in India.* The man that was as God to seventy-five million people! And the other that cowered at his feet! Good Lord! what do we know?"

Some day, when too late, the little world in which the ex-Lieutenant-Governor moved will awake to find from an obituary notice in the newspapers that their uninteresting neighbour was one of India's most dazzling successes—a man who had done great things in the East! Thus it is that after some thirty-five years of toil in an iniquitous climate—a thirty-five years that embrace the best portion

of a man's life—the Indian civilian returns from exile to a country that knows him not. He has to begin life practically afresh, without the golden hopes and buoyancy of youth to support him ; to make new friends in surroundings too often as unsympathetic and uncongenial as they are strange, on a straitened income which seems yet smaller by comparison with his official income of yesterday. His experience, gained in the East so hardly, is of no avail in his new circumstances. All this, too, occurs to him at a time of life when his college contemporaries who embraced professions in England are beginning to make money and have made their reputations, and have built up for themselves a vast network of interests and friendships. If he is still in the enjoyment of sound health, he feels it irksome to become a mere loafer, and yet there is no suitable employment to which he can turn his hand. True, if in India he has risen so high as a Lieutenant-Governorship, he may perhaps obtain a seat on the India Council. But even this is a temporary appointment, carrying no additional pension, and involving the expense of a London residence. If he has lost his health, his case is even worse. Nine hundred odd pounds a year, together with the *damnosa hereditas* of a liver complaint or ingrained malaria, is not an enviable fate. Yet this is all, or nearly all, the Indian civilian has any right to expect at the termination of what may have been a brilliant Indian career. Regrettable though it be, still it is none the less true that Indian civilians seem incapable of procuring any lucrative employment after leaving India. It is not that they are idle and enervated, or unwilling to work hard—usually the reverse—but there seems to be no place for them in the world of practical labour. Is there any instance of an Indian civilian at the present day who has made himself better known in England by his business capacity in the City after his retirement than he ever was before he left India, with perhaps the solitary exception of Sir Lepel Griffin, a man of admittedly versatile genius and exceptional brilliancy ?

But the position which a Lieutenant-Governor holds in India is a very high one. His salary is, nominally at least, £10,000 sterling per annum, and he lives in surroundings fitting his high station as the Governor of a great province. Only to the chosen few, the great official successes, and those above all that can endure to the end—for many fall by the way—does the scarce hoped-for guerdon of a Lieutenant-Governorship come! Considering how carefully the Civil Service is recruited, is it extravagant to suppose that these chosen few, at any rate—leaving out of the calculation those who succumb in the contest from sheer physical breakdown under an Eastern climate, and not from any want of mental capacity—is it extravagant to suppose, I say, that these men at least would have reached the summit of their profession in any walk of life? Taking into consideration all the circumstances, is it not more than probable that they would have succeeded as certainly as those of their quondam contemporaries, who were not more capable or more brilliant, but who chose their careers more with an eye to the future than to the present? If such had been the case, if they had chosen differently, then what would now be their position? Instead of unknown returning exiles, as successful Judges, Politicians, Generals, Barristers, or Ambassadors, their names would be known and honoured throughout the Empire. As it is, how many even of the best informed and most educated of the British public know, so much as by name, the distinguished officers who from time to time preside over the destinies of the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, Bengal, and Burma respectively—provinces vast in size and densely populated? Yet it is hard to conceive that, had these men elected to serve their country in other capacities and in other spheres, their names would not now be familiar household words, while they themselves would receive in public that recognition of merit which every man who has deserved well of his country values above everything else in the world. Compare the return to England of a successful Lieutenant-

Governor and that of a successful General, or Ambassador, and the difference is obvious.

It is sad indeed to reflect that the end of even a successful Indian civilian's life should compare so unfavourably with its brief days of official grandeur, and that his departure from Asia should resemble the fall of a meteor from the firmament of heaven, a faint trail of glory lingering behind for a moment and then all merged in the blackness of obscurity. The verses of Omar Khayyam may occur with a bitter significance to the departing Proconsul as he leaves his Government residence to his successor :

"'Tis but a tent where takes his one day's rest,  
A sultan to the realm of death addressed ;  
The sultan rises, and the dark Ferash  
Strikes, and prepares it for another guest."

In all this, however, melancholy though the facts may be, no fault can justly be found with the British public for its want of appreciation of work well done for the Empire. The Indian civilian only experiences the natural penalty of exile. The present must always occupy the thoughts of men rather than the absent. This is one of the inevitable drawbacks to an Indian career that has to be reckoned with.

There is, however, one gleam of hope forthcoming. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the voyage by the Cape from England to India occupied anything from six months to a year. At the end of the nineteenth century the average time taken in the journey from London to Bombay viâ Brindisi is some fifteen days. If the twentieth century can effect a still further and great reduction in the time occupied by such a journey, by means which at present cannot be anticipated, and thus bring India within easy reach of England, the whole situation may be altered. A successful public life spent in India will approximate more closely to a successful public life in England, and will be crowned with the same rewards at its close. But these things lie in the womb of time.

For the present, it is imperative that those who adopt an Indian civilian's career should remember that there is an anticlimax coming and be prepared to face it. Otherwise unjustifiable hopes are formed only to be disappointed, and a sudden realization of the truth causes chagrin and vexation of spirit. It is better to weigh carefully every advantage and every disadvantage before entering upon a course from which there can be no turning back.

I trust the prominence given above to some of the disadvantages of an Indian career—disadvantages inevitable in some degree to a life of exile in a tropical climate—will not be attributed to any pessimism on my part. Lest such should be the case, I hasten to add that there are also substantial advantages attaching to the career of an Indian civilian, and it must be a pleasanter and more grateful task for a member of that service to dwell upon these advantages rather than upon the reverse of the medal.

One of the most positive benefits of Government service in India is that it offers to its servants a modest competence that never fails, so long as the recipient does not absolutely misconduct himself. It also offers that competence at once, whereas in most other professions there is a long period of weary waiting, rendered, no doubt, less irksome than it otherwise would be by a sense of freedom from restraint and supervision, but still sufficiently vexatious. It is, no doubt, pleasant to be a mediocrity and yet to feel that the oil in the widow's cruse will never fail. And as the majority of the personnel of any given service always are, and indeed must be, mediocrities (or the term would have no meaning), this in itself is a certain advantage. In other professions the good things are really worth having, and the best men get them in the long-run; in the Indian Civil Service there is nothing very good to be got, perhaps, but then everyone gets something. It is the difference between a lottery and a Christmas-tree. But it cannot be denied that the sense of security and the assurance of the modest competence, followed by the still more modest pension, counts for a

great deal in the shape of freedom from anxiety for the future. And this boon Government gives freely to all its servants.

And then there is the strange glamour of the East, which affects men's minds with a certain longing. So many of us have felt it, and do feel it, and will feel it always. That counts for a great deal, and has impelled many men towards India quite apart from, and often in spite of, their pecuniary prospects. There is an immense seductiveness about India and things Indian which I have felt strongly myself, and no doubt many others have felt equally. This magnetic influence draws many towards India who realize that nowadays no fortunes are to be made there, but who are content to do their life's work there all the same.

Again, there is the early assumption of great responsibilities and the opportunity of working in a field where good work can still be done in spite of the narrowed sphere of action and those limitations to initiative and originality which time and progress have inevitably brought in their train. If there is not as much possibility of original and far-reaching work for the Indian civilian as in the days of the Lawrences, of Herbert Edwardes, and of John Nicholson upon the Punjab frontier, there is still plenty that may be done, and with more lasting results than are apparent at first sight. The whole policy of the Government of India is to diminish, as far as practicable, the mere machine labour of the District Officer, and to give him time for the more important duties of active supervision. As the District Officer is the acknowledged unit of the administration upon which everything else depends, his duties are always onerous and responsible. It is the District Officer who has in the first place and at first hand to fight plague and famine; it is the District Officer who is responsible for the working of the police of his district, for the combating of crime, for the collection of revenue, for the imposition and realization of assessed taxes, for the supervision of the excise, for the licensing of firearms, and, in short, for the

entire administration of an area on the average as large as several English counties, and with a population of anything from one to two millions. It is thus sufficiently obvious that plenty of work will be forthcoming for any District Officer who tries to do his duty. And this work is of a very absorbing kind and is worth taking trouble over, for often the interests of thousands are concerned. Of course it is sometimes of an unpleasant character, but that cannot be avoided, and the Indian civilian, if he is to do his work at all, must do it as best he can, without aiming at popularity, but also without giving needless offence to anyone. The problems to be solved are often very complex and delicate and require the greatest diplomacy. All this produces intellectual development and forms character, and it is undoubtedly one of the advantages of the Indian Civil Service that it provides its officers with really important and interesting work at a comparatively early age.

The Indian Civil Service is emphatically a service of "young men," as age is computed in all other learned professions; and this must be so, because the work strains to the utmost not merely the mental but also the physical capacities of every officer. The assumption of great responsibilities, however, has that sobering effect upon the individual which is not usually met with in other professions so early in life, and few Indian civilians are ever really young. If a man has his heart in his profession, it is a pleasure and a privilege to him to be able to work at it during the best years of life. This privilege is certainly freely accorded to all members of the Indian Civil Service. The work done by them may never be known outside their districts or outside the limits of their provinces, but can be well done none the less, and done cheerfully and ungrudgingly. And if zealous labour brings with it its own reward, then the District Officer—and not only the District Officer, but the other links above and below him in the great chain of the Indian administration—should assuredly have that reward in full.

These are some of the more obvious advantages offered by the Indian Civil Service to its officers, and to these must be added one other—namely, that a great part of district work is done out of doors, no inconsiderable advantage to those who love fresh air and dislike the routine of office work.

To sum up, it may be affirmed that the Indian Civil Service, though it cannot offer in many respects so brilliant a career as the Army, the Bar, the Home Civil Service, medicine, diplomacy, and other kindred professions, yet offers a career which is far *more certain*. In every profession there is of necessity a certain amount of risk of failure; in the Indian Civil Service, perhaps, less risk of absolute failure than in most others. With regard to the choice of a profession, to borrow the celebrated dictum of Pascal, “Il faut parier”; and the die must be cast early in life. An ambitious and unusually gifted person, who has sufficient private means to enable him to tide over the lean years of waiting, will do better, perhaps, to select any of the above-mentioned professions in preference to the Indian Civil Service. Those, on the other hand, who cannot afford to wait, who are contented with a modest but certain competence, who are not greatly ambitious, and who are prepared to end their days in obscure and unobtrusive retirement, will find much to satisfy them in an Indian career. True, they may never live to see with their own eyes the result of their best work, nor can they ever expect to meet with any grateful recognition of their labours from the voiceless millions of the East. Still, the good seed will bear fruit in due season, and

“Others I doubt not, if not we,  
The issue of our toils shall see;  
Young children gather as their own  
The harvest that the dead had sown,  
The dead forgotten and unknown.”

And with this firm expectation may they faithfully do their duty towards God and towards India.



## AGRICOLA REDIVIVUS.

By A. ROGERS.

A PAPER with this title was read before the East India Association on June 24 last,\* and would have been noticed before this if it had not been thought advisable to await the final result of a Bill then under the consideration of the Bombay Legislative Council for the amendment of the Revenue Code of that Presidency. In this it was proposed to let out land for a shorter period than the usual term of thirty years, and to deprive tenants of the right of alienating it by sale or otherwise in a manner similar to that adopted in the Panjáb Land Alienation Act, to which the paper mentioned, which was prepared by Mr. S. S. Thorburn, late Financial Commissioner in that province, mostly referred. The Bill referred to has now been passed into law, and it is proposed to notice it in connection with the important subject of the general right to sell or mortgage land in India held on condition of payment of land-tax to the State.

Needless to say, the proposal to curtail the privilege of the right to alienation of their land on the part of the tenants did not arise from any sinister desire on that of the State to repossess itself of that right, but with a view to protect the former against themselves. It was found that advantage was taken of the security afforded by the possession by tenants of a full proprietary title in their land to make use of it in procuring loans from money-lenders, who, once having got hold of the sole means of subsistence of their debtors, reduced them virtually to a state of slavery. By degrees matters in this respect arrived at such a pitch as in the eyes of the local authorities to constitute a source of political danger among the more uncivilized and wilder tribes inhabiting the western portion of the Panjáb, and

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1901, pp. 52-78.

led to the passing of the Land Alienation Act referred to above.

A warning of the possible result of such a state of affairs had been received in what had occurred in the Poona Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency in 1875. In consequence of the harsh measures for the recovery of their debts from the cultivating classes adopted by the local usurers, a number of the former entered into a league against the latter, and proceeded to violence against them, inflicting personal injury on some and burning the shops, books, bonds and mortgage-deeds of others. These agricultural riots were, of course, put down with a strong hand, and shortly afterwards, in pursuance of the recommendations of a Commission appointed to investigate the subject, a law was passed for the establishment of Courts of Conciliation, to which both creditors and debtors could go for the settlement of their mutual claims without resorting to the severer methods of procedure common to the regular Courts of Civil Judicature. This measure has met with a certain amount of success, and has, at all events, prevented the recurrence of violence. The extension of the provisions of this law to other parts of the country has frequently been talked about, but the idea has never proceeded farther, and in the meanwhile, within the last few months, that of depriving the *rayats* in certain cases of the security they have hitherto been able to offer for the repayment of advances made to them, and thus curbing their propensity to borrow, has been substituted. Whether this has arisen *ex proprio motu* of the Bombay Government, or in obedience to orders from higher authority, or from emulation of the step taken in another part of the country, or from fear of the consequence of illegalities under existing law committed inadvertently in the past, we have no means of knowing, but certain it is that the measure has been pushed through the Legislative Council and passed into law with a haste unusual when measures of importance that may have far-reaching results are under consideration, in spite of vigorous

opposition on the part of the Native Members and many adverse opinions both in the Vernacular and Anglo-Indian press. To some of these we propose to refer hereafter. At present, however, it will be advisable to go back a few years in time and endeavour to trace to its source what in our opinion was the real cause, at all events in Bombay, and probably wherever the relations between creditors and debtors have become so embittered as to lead to the present state of matters, why the Legislature has thought it advisable to interfere in the unusual manner it has.

Money transactions between the parties were formerly carried on by means of ordinary debit and credit accounts, which were balanced, and possibly signed, at the *Diváli*, the autumnal equinox, the commencement of the Hindu year of account. Balances due on such accounts were recoverable in Court up to twelve years from the date of the last transaction. There being thus ample time for the parties to make their mutual arrangements, recourse was seldom had to the signing of bonds either as simple acknowledgments of debt or complicated with the mortgage of land, with or without possession, as security for its repayment. Debtor and creditor got on amicably together, for the latter felt tolerably secure of getting back his money at some time or other, and did not press his debtor, as he found himself forced to do when the passing of the Indian Limitation Act of 1781, which reduced the twelve years within which he had to collect his money to three, forced him to exact formal bonds from his debtor that would give him more time for recovery. The tightening of his grasp that the execution of a bond gave him led the money-lender quickly forward to appreciate the still greater security of a mortgage of land included in it, and, the friction between the parties gradually increasing, led eventually to the disturbances in the Deccan with their subsequent results. In this case there was no idea of injurious political consequences, as there appears to have been in the Panjáb, as the rising was only a local method adopted by a comparatively small

number of debtors of taking the law into their own hands against those who, although they acted within their strict legal rights, did so in a high-handed and oppressive way. It shows, however, the danger of changing the immemorial usages of a country and substituting for them foreign methods to which those affected were unaccustomed. When the provisions of the Limitation Act were under discussion, this matter was brought to notice, but under the prevalent craze for Europeanizing Indian law no attention was paid to such local remonstrances, and the result is what we see. Now that the Limitation Act has been for so many years in force—and an entirely new set of obligations has come into force under its provisions—it may be hopeless to suggest a return to the old method of giving creditor and debtor ample time in which to settle matters between themselves, and the only way that has occurred to the authorities in which to protect the *rayats* against themselves is, wherever it may be found necessary, to deprive the borrowers of what has hitherto led them to borrow and the lenders to lend probably in perhaps too lavish a manner, viz., the property the former hold in their lands. The remedy is, however, double-edged, and will cut both ways, and should, therefore, be used cautiously and after due consideration. It is a very senseless proceeding to raise the cry of "*Down with the money-lenders!*" Agriculturists cannot do without bankers to make them temporary advances, and money-lenders, who are their general bankers, are thus a necessity. The consequence of depriving the would-be borrowers of the asset hitherto available which they could offer as a security for the repayment of advances will simply be to drive the money-lenders to exacting harder terms than ever for their loans, which the *rayats* must have in order to continue their cultivation. Who can blame the money-lenders if in default of obtaining reliable security for repayment they exact such harder terms in order to cover their extra risk? It is also manifestly unfair to place all money-lenders under one category as extortionate

and unscrupulous in their dealings. Taking them at their worst, the men must know that the *rayats* are as much a necessity to them in carrying on their trade as they are to the *rayats* in carrying on theirs, and they are wise enough to know it is to their own interest to deal fairly with their debtors. There are, of course, exceptional cases which it is difficult to know what to do with ; there are borrowers who would not hesitate to trick their lenders, as well as *vice-versâ*. Would it, then, it may be asked, not be advisable to fix a legal rate of interest in order to provide against exceptional cases? Our opinion is clearly in the negative, and that anything of the kind would put an additional weapon of torture into the hand of the unscrupulous lender, to which many an impecunious borrower would have, *nolens volens*, to submit. For instance, a man requires a hundred rupees immediately, and must have it by hook or by crook ; a money-lender will only let him have it on condition that he passes a bond for double the amount at the legal rate of interest, thus doubling the debt at once at double interest. The bond is drawn up in due form, and a Court of law in which it is produced and proved must pass a decree for the full amount unless it has power to go behind the contract, as suggested by Mr. Thorburn in his paper, according to the precedent adopted in the Money-lender's Act passed in England a short time ago. This really appears to be the only means by which fair play can be secured for both sides. The Courts can have no leaning towards either party, and it would only remain for the higher Courts, to which decisions of the lower Courts could be appealed, to see that the latter did not proceed to too great lengths in annulling contracts.

That something of the kind is absolutely necessary in India is becoming every day more notorious. It was ascertained in the course of the inquiries that led to the passing of the Panjâb Act that as a rule a grain debt was doubled within two years, and a money debt within three, and if, as is sometimes the case, the moral or quasi-religious

maxim that a man should meet the debts of his ancestors were converted into a personal obligation by such debts being included in bonds, it would not take long for his complete ruin to be brought about.

We propose here to glance at one principal measure of relief that is already under the consideration of the Government of India, viz., the establishment of agricultural banks on co-operative principles throughout the country, with a view not only to compete with professional money-lenders, but also to inculcate principles of self-help and thrift among the people.

A commencement having been made for some time past in the Madras Presidency to introduce institutions of the kind, the matter has been taken up by the Government of India under Lord Curzon, and a representative committee appointed to report on the subject. The following is their preliminary opinion as to the steps that should be taken in the matter. It was impossible to lay down hard and fast rules applicable throughout the country, as due regard must be paid to the local conditions and circumstances of each province.

Village associations constituted as mutual credit associations, somewhat on the lines and with the general objects of the Raiffeisen Mutual Credit Associations in Germany, would be the most useful instruments of rural credit. These would satisfy the several postulates of small, continuous village credit, while developing conditions, habits and qualities essential to rural stability and progress. By substituting joint for individual credit they would create a better security for funds lent to them, and the members of these associations would be able to control efficiently the employment of money borrowed and secure its punctual repayment. This, together with the central banks proposed to be created conjointly with them, appears to us to be the keystone of the whole proposed structure. The village associations would be the Panchayets, or indigenous local committees established under immemorial custom for

the management of village affairs. The members of these personally know every inhabitant, and are conversant with his resources and requirements, as well as his capabilities, methods and character. They of their own knowledge can tell whether a loan applied for by any individual is for a legitimate purpose, and will be applied, if granted, to that purpose, and can secure repayment when that purpose has been satisfied. Acting thus with the powerful influence of village public opinion behind them, they can be made the instruments of promoting the real advancement of the people themselves, whilst at the same time safeguarding the funds of the banks against misapplication and eventual loss.

It was proposed that central societies should be formed, owing to the difficulty of inducing villagers to associate together in such undertakings, for the purpose of organizing and financing the proposed village associations. The former would be formed chiefly from the well-to-do, influential, and educated classes and, where possible, from the classes with landed interests. One of these central societies should, in our opinion, be established at the headquarters of each subdivision of a collectorate (Tálúkah or Tahsil), and should include as many retired and pensioned officers of Government as possible, with respectable merchants and capitalists, many of whom would gladly join them from motives of religious charity (*dharm*).

The general movement, it was considered, might properly be encouraged by Government through its own officers, and partly by the grant of pecuniary assistance. We do not see how such societies in the majority of instances could be started without the latter assistance, although when once started and organized in such a manner as to insure the return of a reasonable interest on money advanced many men would come forward and lend them the necessary funds.

These funds would be primarily intended for loans to village associations, and should, in our opinion, be confined

to them in the first instance. When the system was once firmly established, loans might be granted to individuals on approved security, but these should always be a matter of secondary consideration, the main object being to maintain small and continuous village credit, and not that these societies should become regular money-lenders. The Committee propose that loans from the State should receive interest at 4 per cent., that village associations should pay 6 per cent., and charge those to whom they made advances at rates from  $6\frac{3}{8}$  to  $9\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. These rates appear reasonable enough, but it is unnecessary to decide at present on such a measure of detail. A more important question for consideration is that of the extent to which these institutions should be under the control of the officers of Government, a point on which the Committee make no detailed recommendations. This control should certainly be as slight as possible, and be confined to a periodical audit of accounts, in order to ascertain that all transactions are duly recorded and the accounts of advances made and money recovered kept in proper order. The proposed village associations under the control of the central societies will be the best judges of how funds can be most appropriately made use of, and under this system no bad debts should ever be incurred. In order to check the proceedings of the central societies, however, the assistant or deputy collector in charge of each Tálukah or Tahsil in which one was established should be an *ex officio* Director, in the same way that a Government officer like the Accountant-General for the time being is appointed to a Presidency bank.

The Committee make several other proposals with regard to the conduct of these agricultural banks which it is unnecessary for the present to consider in detail—such as the formation into a reserve fund of all profits beyond a certain maximum dividend rate, which would only be drawn upon to make good losses sustained on such occasions as famine, the reduction of rates of interest on loans when



that reserve reached a certain fixed minimum, or their employment on works of public utility, etc. They go on, however, to make a suggestion which would probably be found unworkable in practice, viz., that village associations might make transactions, whether loans or receipts, in grain instead of cash, or even maintain stores of grain for use in time of scarcity. Now, these suggestions are such as no one who had been accustomed to transactions in grain could possibly have recommended. They would involve questions of price at which to purchase and to sell, of markets at which to buy, and of providing room for storage, of such a complicated nature as should never be left to the disposal of the members of a village association, who should only concern themselves with their banking business, and seeing in their fiduciary position to the proper application of the money they lent, otherwise they would quickly become hotbeds of jealousy, intrigue, and speculation that the central committees would be quite unable to control. All advances for agricultural purposes should undoubtedly be made in cash, and the borrower should be left to his own devices to make his own bargains for his grain or whatever else he required. There is apparently no reason why the advances annually made by Government for agricultural purposes under the name of *tagávi* or *tagai* should not be handed over partly, if not entirely, for distribution to the central societies and village associations, with a greater probability of reaching the right men than under the existing system. The remedy of preventing people from running into debt by leaving them no valuable security on which to borrow did not find general approval with the experienced Anglo-Indians who spoke on the occasion of the reading of Mr. Thorburn's paper, and has raised a perfect storm of indignation on the part of most of the Native Members of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Anglo-Indian and Native press. What has been done in the Panjáb is avowedly experimental, and there is at present no intention of extending similar measures to other parts of the country

unless it is found to succeed there ; but the fact that the same step has already been taken, though in rather a modified form, in Bombay proves that the matter is in the air, and requires to be publicly discussed while there is yet time. It is admitted on all hands that there are certain classes of tenants who are so uneducated, so altogether backward in civilization, as to be no match for astute money-lenders, and to be ready to sign away their right to property in land without understanding or even thinking of the consequences ; but it is a mistaken idea to suppose that the Indian agriculturist as a rule is so feeble as to require to be protected against himself like a child. The proposed Bombay Act does not give the Revenue authorities any right to interfere with existing rights of property, and only allows any portion of it that may be forfeited for non-payment of rent to be given out to new tenants for shorter terms than the usual thirty years' survey lease, without the right to alienate it which full proprietary title would include. It is only from an exaggerated idea that the Government are bent on a wholesale confiscation of such titles that the recent outcry has apparently arisen. The authorities are well aware that although under Bombay Revenue Law the full benefit of all improvements in land effected at a tenant's own expense is guaranteed to him and his heirs, it would be unreasonable to look for the expenditure of any large amount of capital on such improvements if that benefit could not be transferred to his assigns as well. It would be against the interest of the State to throw anything in the way of the advancement of the country in material prosperity such as would be brought about by material improvements, and there is no fear of this retrograde step being taken. Had there been any such, the outcry would certainly have been fully justified. Extra precautions can, moreover, be adopted, as has already been suggested in a letter lately published in the *Times of India*, against any such proceedings as those dreaded by the native public being adopted in a careless or thoughtless

manner and without due consideration of possible consequences. It has been suggested that orders under the Act should only be passed on formal judicial proceedings by some superior Revenue authority in such form as to be readily appealable to the Revenue Commissioner or Government, and not by mere endorsement on a vernacular correspondence. Representations on the subject of alienation of land might be allowed to be made in such cases by the village Panchayets and others than those immediately concerned, and such a degree of formality attach to the proceedings as to insure all points connected with the case being thoroughly gone into before a decision was arrived at.

With regard to the probability of any large quantity of land passing out of the hands of the cultivating classes into those of money-lenders also, a good deal of misapprehension exists. In the discussion on Mr. Thorburn's paper, Mr. Romesh Dutt asserted from personal experience that in the eastern districts of Bengal such had not been the case. A writer signing himself "J," one who evidently knew what he was writing about, has proved\* from official statistics that in the four Deccan collectorates of Poona, Sholapur, Ahmadnagar, and Sattara, which have had the Deccan Agriculturist's Relief Act applied to them, there were in the nine years from 1883 to 1891 sales to agriculturists to the extent of 5·3 per cent., and to non-agriculturists of 2·9, and mortgages with possession and without possession to the extent of 4·7 and 1·5 per cent. respectively to the former and 6·0 and 3·6 per cent. to non-agriculturists. The area thus transferred came in all but abnormal seasons to only about 27 acres per 1,000, of which rather over 14 acres passed from the agriculturist to the non-agricultural classes, 3·2 by sale and 10·8 by mortgage. These are the four Bombay collectorates that are more commonly affected by failure of the monsoon than others, and it may be argued that if this had continued and only such a small amount of

\* In the *Times of India*, dated July 6 last.

land had been latterly transferred to non-agriculturists in them, there would have been no justification for the new departure in principle discussed above. Unfortunately, however, the writer of the letter shows by further statistics that in the last two quinquennial periods the number of sales and mortgages of land in these collectorates has greatly increased, the annual average of the former having risen from 1·14 lakhs of acres in 1885-1889 to 2·06 lakhs in the five following years. In the same period the area mortgaged has mounted up by over 200,000 acres. This is no doubt a serious state of affairs, for which it was right that the Bombay Government should endeavour to find a remedy. Have they, however, found the right one in the proposed Act? To this we are clearly disposed to say they have not, and that the new law should only be put in force in the exceptional case of members of the wild tribes, such as Bhils, Kolis, and Várlis. To rectify what has taken place in the past the Courts must be allowed to vary contracts, and for the future, if matters are ever to find a natural remedy, the provision of the Indian Statute of Limitation referred to above must be done away and the old limit of twelve years for ordinary account debts restored.

## UNITY OF COINAGE FOR THE EMPIRE.

By ALEC McMILLAN, I.C.S. (Retired).

THE sanction given by Her Majesty's Government to the carrying out of the proposal of the Indian Currency Committee to make the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India was a distinct step in the direction of the establishment of a single system of coinage throughout the British Empire.

It is a curious fact that it was not until between seventy and eighty years ago that the parent countries of the Empire—England, Scotland, and Ireland—first enjoyed the blessing of a perfectly uniform system of metallic currency.

In the sixteenth century coins were current in Scotland bearing the same names as English coins, but much inferior to them in value. On the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the throne of England, the relative value of English and Scottish coins was declared to be as twelve to one. This makeshift arrangement remained in force up to the union of England and Scotland in 1707. A complete recoinage was then carried out on the basis of the English system, and the coinages of England and Scotland were made exactly similar.

The coins used in Ireland after the English invasion in the twelfth century were nominally the same as those current in England; but from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century Irish coins were nominally rated  $8\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. higher than English coins. This difference of valuation, which was attended with considerable inconvenience, was put an end to by an Act passed in 1825, and the metallic currency was thus assimilated throughout the British Isles.

At the present time three different systems of coinage are in force in the British Empire. The English system, with the sovereign as its ruling coin, is in use in the British

Isles, Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and the British West Indies. What may be called the "Canadian system," with the dollar as its ruling coin, is in force in Canada, Newfoundland, British Honduras, the Straits Settlements, and other British dependencies bordering on China. And India, Ceylon, and Mauritius have a system of their own—the Indian system—with the rupee as its ruling coin.

It would have been the height of folly to have continued the maintenance of three different systems of coinage in the British Isles. It is no less foolish to continue the maintenance of three different systems of coinage in the British Empire of to-day.

A system of coinage is wanted which, while recognising and using the dollar and the rupee as subsidiary coins, will make the sovereign supreme throughout the Empire; in short, a system which will weld the English system, the Canadian system, and the Indian system into one. Such a system might either be a frank system, or a dollar system, or a tenpenny system.

## I. A FRANK SYSTEM.

### COINAGE PROPOSED.

Name of Coin.					Value in Franks.
Gold	{ SOVEREIGN	...	..	...	25'00
	{ Twenty-frank piece	...	...	...	20'00
	{ Ten-frank piece	...	...	...	10'00
Silver	{ Five-frank piece or DOLLAR	...	...	...	5'00
	{ Two-frank piece	...	...	...	2'00
	{ RUPEE	...	...	...	1'60
	{ Frank	...	...	...	1'00
	{ Half-frank	...	...	...	0'50
Bronze	{ Penny	...	...	...	0'10
	{ Halfpenny	...	...	...	0'05
	{ Double pie*	...	...	...	0'02
	{ Pie*	...	...	...	0'01

The value of all the coins is shown in this table in franks and fractions of a frank, the frank being one-twenty-fifth of the gold sovereign. The sovereign would be the ruling

\* For use in India.

coin, all other coins being parts of it, or of the frank, which is a twenty-fifth part of it.

There is no reason why we should not adopt the useful franc, spelling it with a "k" to give it a Teutonic look, as we are mainly a Teutonic people.

The sovereign, under the system proposed, would be equivalent to five dollars, to fifteen rupees one frank, to twenty-five francs, and to 250 pennies.

The sovereign would have the value in francs (an insignificant fraction of two pence or so being disregarded) that it has on the Continent.

The dollar would fit admirably into the system proposed. Being ordinarily worth four shillings and twopence, it could be taken to be equivalent to fifty pennies or five francs. The dollar-using countries could adopt the frank as their arithmetical unit without difficulty, their present figures of account being multiplied by five. A dollar would be written in figures as 5'00 instead of 1'00. Two cents would be ten centimes, or a penny; one cent would be five centimes, or a halfpenny.

The somewhat awkward rupee would fit fairly well into the system proposed. There is, of course, no difficulty in expressing rupees and annas, the annas being reckoned as pennies, in francs and fractions of a frank. The Indian five-rupee note would be worth eight francs, while 125 rupees would be worth four sovereigns or twenty dollars. As a supplement to the system in India, it would be convenient to count ten pies instead of twelve to the anna. The pie would be the centime of the system.

Another mode of dealing with the rupee would be to make it consist of fifteen annas or pennies, so as to be equal to a frank and a half. Fifteen two hundred and fiftieths of a sovereign is a tolerably correct equivalent of the exchange value to which the rupee has a tendency to dwindle.

A more heroic but perhaps less practicable device would be to make the rupee consist of twenty annas or pennies, so as to be equal to two francs.

The penny—reckoned as equal in value to the French coin of ten centimes—would be the base of the system proposed. The penny, known by different names in different countries, is the one real international coin. It is a penny in England, ten centimes in France, two cents in Canada, and an anna in India. The practical equality of the penny, the French ten centimes, the Canadian two cents, and the Indian anna, at least as regards small values, is shown by the fact that they count as equal in paying for an international service of a particular kind. Each and all of them multiplied by two and a half pay for the transmission of ordinary letters from places in which they are current to outside countries comprised in the International Postal Union. The carriage of a letter from England to France costs two pennies and a half, from India to France two annas and a half, from Canada to France five Canadian cents. The carriage of a letter from France to England, India, or Canada costs twenty-five French centimes—that is to say, two and a half French pennies. It may be mentioned that, until quite lately, French ten-centime pieces were very readily accepted in England as equivalent in value to English pennies. In Dickens's "Dictionary of Paris," edition of 1882, the following passage occurs: "Happily, English pennies and halfpennies are now current in Paris, and French sous (halfpennies) and two sous pieces (pennies) are equally so in London." In the table in the "English Post-Office Guide," showing the sums payable in foreign currencies on money orders issued in the United Kingdom, an English penny is reckoned as equal in value to ten French centimes and two Canadian cents. The practical equality of the penny, the French ten centimes, the Canadian two cents, and the Indian anna, as regards small values, could conveniently be recognised as extending to large values.

The system proposed, over and above the advantages that would accrue from the assimilation it would make between the three different systems of coinage now in use in the British



Empire, and from the arithmetical convenience of its being a decimal system, has other recommendations.

It would have all the advantages of a gold system with a subsidiary coinage of silver. Dollars and franks would represent the gold sovereign and parts of it in England, Scotland, and Ireland as efficiently as the subsidiary silver coins at present in use already do. And there is no reason why dollars and franks should not be made to serve the same use in Canada, and dollars, rupees, and franks in India.

The system proposed would be a readily intelligible system, and easy of adoption. Putting the rupee out of consideration, it is the system of coinage used by Englishmen travelling in France. The English traveller in that country carries with him, in addition to French money, English sovereigns worth in round figures five-and-twenty franks. And Spain has actually in use a system of coinage which is merely the French system supplemented by a gold coin of twenty-five pesetas or franks, corresponding to the sovereign.

The system proposed would fit in with the currencies of European countries that have as their monetary unit a frank, or coin of equal value, divided into 100 parts, namely, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Greece, Roumania, and Servia. It would substantially fit in with the currencies of the United States and other dollar-using countries in the Western Hemisphere and the Asiatic Continent. Its adoption throughout the British Empire would be a great step in the direction of the establishment of unity of coinage throughout the civilized world.

So far as regards a frank system, and now for a perhaps more practicable alternative.

## II. A DOLLAR SYSTEM.

In the British West Indies the coinage is English, but the monetary unit is an imaginary dollar, made up of 100 imaginary cents. Dollars and cents are no more than

terms used for facilitating trade transactions by enabling calculations to be made in decimals. There are no coins to represent them. A halfpenny is called a "cent," and 100 cents are called a "dollar." There would be no difficulty in extending this system throughout the Empire, the cent and the half anna being regarded as equivalent to a halfpenny; two cents and an anna as equivalent to a penny; the rupee as equivalent to thirty-two cents, half annas, or halfpennies; the dollar (whether actually coined or not) as equivalent to 100 cents, half annas, or halfpennies; and the sovereign as equivalent to 480 cents, half annas, or halfpennies.

Yet one more system remains to be outlined.

### III. A TENPENNY SYSTEM.

Under this system the numerical unit would be tenpence (ten real British pennies, one twenty-fourth of a sovereign) instead of a frank or dollar. This unit—and a very convenient unit it would be—would be supposed to be divided into 100 parts. Tenpenny pieces would not be required to be coined any more than West Indian dollars have hitherto required to be coined. But the dollar being a living coin, very largely used in many countries, it would be as well to have British dollars coined, to be current throughout the Empire. The unified coinage would be as under :

Name of Coin.					Value in Tenpennies.
Sovereign	...	..	...	...	24'00
Half-sovereign	...	...	...	...	12'00
Crown...	...	...	...	...	6'00
Dollar...	...	...	...	...	5'00
Half-crown	...	...	...	...	3'00
Rupee...	...	...	...	...	1'60
Shilling	...	...	...	...	1'20
Sixpence	...	...	...	...	0'60
Threepence	...	...	...	...	0'30
Penny, anna, or double Canadian cent	...	...	...	...	0'10
Halfpenny, half anna, or Canadian cent	...	...	...	...	0'05
Double pie*	...	...	...	...	0'02
Pie* ...	...	...	...	...	0'01

\* For use in India.

Florins might be dispensed with, and pies and double pies need only be coined for India.

Under the dollar system and the tenpenny system it would not be necessary to substitute franks, half-franks, etc., for British shillings, sixpences, etc., and the present value of the British penny as a two hundred and fortieth part of a sovereign would be left unaltered. There would, therefore, be much less change than under the frank system proposed. But, of the three systems, the frank system would really be the most scientific, and, in the long-run, the most useful.

Under any system of unification adopted India and Canada might coin their own sovereigns, as Australia does now. And the Indian and Canadian mints, like the mints in Australia, would have to be made subordinate to, or branches of, the central mint of the Empire, the Royal Mint in London.

It is, of course, not at all probable that the Empire will enjoy the boon of unity of coinage under any system whatever for many long years. Great reforms are apt to be slow in coming into operation if the choice of adopting or rejecting them rests with a legislative assembly. The will of one man, if all-powerful, is more efficacious in the achievement of reforms than the lagging deliberations of a Parliament. The will of one man—Julius Cæsar—gave Rome the Julian Calendar. A squabbling Senate would never have done it. It was through the exercise of the will of one man—Pope Gregory XIII.—that the Julian Calendar was reformed. A conclave of Cardinals would never have done it. It was not until great inconvenience had been experienced for nearly two centuries that Pope Gregory's reform was adopted by the Parliament of England. The will of one man—Oliver Cromwell—effected a union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century. His work was upset by the Restoration, and half a century passed before the English and Scottish Parliaments, after much discussion

and wrangling, finally agreed to the Union. The will of one man—Alexander II.—abolished serfdom in Russia. A House of Lords made up of Russian nobles, plus a House of Commons made up of Russians of the bourgeois class, had such institutions existed, would never have done it. Alexander II. issued his ukase emancipating the serfs six years after his accession to the throne. Slavery was abolished in the British Colonies not until some fifty years after slavery and the slave trade had been under discussion in the House of Commons. The will of one man—Napoleon—gave France her Civil and Penal Codes. A chattering Chamber of Deputies, with a Senate thrown in, would never have done it. England, with her unrivalled Parliamentary institutions, has a system of law that is chaotic, “a mighty maze,” alas ! “without a plan,” instead of an intelligible code or codes. Parliament is likely to be as diffident and slow in venturing to grapple with a big currency reform as with a code of law. Still, no harm can result, if possibly little immediate good, from calling attention to the anomaly and inconvenience of maintaining three systems of currency in the Empire, and attempting to point out ways of arriving at a remedy.

# THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF MOROCCO.\*

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

MOROCCO is the country *par excellence* of Mussulman fraternities. In the course of my inquiries, whilst travelling in the Sherifian dominions, about Islamism in Morocco, I studied these orders from three different points of view—viz., the religious, the political, and the social.

My investigations and researches in Morocco for the object of securing authentic documents on Islamic propaganda in Africa—a propaganda to which the religious orders contribute a large part—were made specially from this triple point of view. I shall give at present the principal results as regards the religious orders. With this object I shall explain, in the first place, the present state of the congregations, and afterwards their religious, political, and social influence.

It is quite impossible to work out any statistics of the religious orders in Morocco. All that can be said on the subject is that the majority of the male adult population is connected with them. The reader must bear in mind that it is very difficult to undertake such an investigation in the

\* The information contained in this article is only a summary of a memoir which I intend to publish hereafter, and is the result of inquiries which I obtained in Morocco from the natives connected with the religious orders, and from Europeans resident in the country (Legations, Consulates, merchants, etc.), as also from published works on the orders and on Morocco. In transcribing Arabic words I shall adopt the following rules :  
 ت th ; ج dj, j ; ح h ; خ kh ; د dh ; ذ z ; ص s ; ض s ; ط t ; ظ z ; ع ' ; غ g ; ق k, g ; ك k ; ه h ; و w ; ي y, i. As a rule the Moroccan pronunciation is given, and in regard to names of both well-known and little-known places and persons the usual orthography is adopted. The dates which are quoted correspond with the Christian era.

Should our readers desire to possess a very correct study of the rules and creeds of the Mussulman fraternities and their respective tenets, with which I do not specially deal in this article, I strongly recommend to their notice a work by E. Doutté on "L'Islam Algérien en l'An 1900" (Algiers, 1900). This work, owing to its preciseness and scientific accuracy, is in my opinion the best on the subject.

interior of Morocco owing to the dangerous and sacred land of the confraternities.

An order is called in Morocco *trika* (road), or *tāifa* (troup); members of the order are called *fokrā*, plural of *fakir* (lit. poor, ascetic, a man who is devoted to a life of contemplation). It is never described as *khuān* (brothers), a term employed elsewhere for those affiliated to the congregations of Islam.

The head of a fraternity is a *sheikh*, whose authority is absolute. It has one or more *zāwias*, also some more or less important buildings in the shape of mosques, schools, and dwelling-houses, or otherwise simply a place for meeting and instruction. Being initiated into an order is called *wird* (lit. the act of imbibing). The form of special prayer in every order is called *zikr* (lit. mention, prayer).

The most important and influential order in Morocco at the present day is that of the 'Aissāoua, founded by Sidi Muhammad bin 'Aissā, who died and was interred at Meknas 1523-24. Meknas is the capital and headquarters of the order. The 'Aissāoua are well known by their eccentric practices, which have been so often described. But these exercises are only performed by one section of the fraternity, the majority of the members being very peaceable, and have nothing in common with these mountebanks. The 'Aissāoua are very numerous, and are recruited from all ranks of society, from the court of the Sultan to the humble fellah.

Another fraternity, closely related to the last mentioned, but inferior as regards numbers and importance, is the Hamadsha, or Hamdushia, known also by the peculiarity of its practices. Its founder, entombed at Meknas, Sidi 'Ali bin Hamdush, lived in the sixteenth century.

The order called Tūhāmiyyin (known in Algeria under the name of Tayyibiyya) formerly played a very great political part, but its importance has greatly decreased. Its founder goes back to A.D. 1678-79. Wazzan is the centre and

headquarters of this order, the sheikh of which is known under the name of the Sherif of Wazzan. By descent the Sherifs of Wazzan are connected with the family of Mūlāy Idris, a descendant of Muhammad, who founded the first Moroccan dynasty in A.D. 788, hence the political part played by these Sherifs. The name Tūhāmiyyin comes from Mūlāy et-Tūhāmi bin Muhammad, the celebrated reformer and reorganiser of the fraternity, died in 1715. The order has lost much of its influence in Morocco since its chief Sherif, Mūlāy 'Abd-es-Salām bin al-Hājj al 'Arbi l'Wazzāni, deceased 1894, became a French protégé. The interference of France in the affairs of the order acted fatally on it, as it has become in a way suspected from a Mussulman religious point of view. The Tūhāmiyyin are spread all over Wazzan and the north of Morocco. I have seldom heard them mentioned in the centre and south of the empire.

Another, and one of the most important and flourishing orders, is that of Tijāniyya, the founder of which, Sidi Aḥmad bin Muhammad bin l-Mukhtār at-Tijāni, died at Fez in A.D. 1815. The Tijāniyya Moroccans form an independent branch of the rest of the order, and are widely spread over Northern Africa. Their central *zāwīa* is at Fez. They form in Morocco an aristocratic congregation, recruiting themselves especially among the Arab element (Moorish-Andalusian) of the population, and having affiliations amongst the upper personages of the Makhzan (Government). This order exercises a considerable social influence, discussing financial and other important topics of the day.

The fraternity of Darkāwa, whose influence is great in Morocco, was founded by Sidi l-'Arbi Darkāwi, who died in A.D. 1823 at Bū-Briḥ, to the north of Fez, in the Jabāla. Here may be seen the original home of the order. This order practises ascetism and mendicity, the members taking an oath of absolute obedience to their sheikh. It may be compared with the Jesuits. Our readers may see

what we think of the comparison which has been made between Mussulman and Catholic orders and the grossest errors committed in this regard, in our Quarterly Report in this *Review* for October, 1898 (pages 377-379). Darkāwa are to be found all over Morocco—mendicants invoking the name of Allah; these are generally held in veneration by the common people. This order is now divided and weakened. It is accused of being fanatical, but this reproach is based on a very slight foundation, as, according to my idea and experience, fanaticism is little spread in Morocco.

Another numerous fraternity in the Sherifian empire is that of the Kādriyya. This is known as the most popular and numerous order of the Mussulman world. Its founder, Sidi 'Abd-el-Kāder al Gilāni, who died 1166, was called in Morocco al-Jilāli, he was born in Gilan, Persia, and buried at Baghdād. He is the saint, it seems, most invoked in Morocco. The Kādriyya are known here under the name of Jilāla. Their principal *zāwīa* is at Marakesh. The order is a philanthropic and charitable one.

The majority of the orders I have mentioned are also to be found outside Morocco; it is not so with the Heddāwa, described for the first time by Moulieras in his "Maroc Inconnu" (see my remarks on this work in the Quarterly Report in this *Review* for July, 1899, and July, 1900). This fraternity was founded by Sidi Heddi in the thirteenth century, whose tomb is to be found at Tagzirth, amongst the Beni 'Arūs in the Jabāla, where the original home of the brotherhood exists.

The Heddāwa, a mendicant order of a very low class are few in number, but are spread all over Morocco. They are accused by their co-religionists of immoral practices. What tends to confirm this reputation is that they allow women to be affiliated as members. I may add in this regard that in Morocco, as well as in other Mussulman countries, saints are venerated who have not been celebrated for their purity and morality.



There are in Morocco a great number of fraternities springing from the Shādheliyya order, or professing their religious doctrines, but we shall only give the names of the principal ones.

1. The Nāṣeriyya, which is at the present time in decadence. It was founded by Muhammad bin Nāṣer ed-Drā'i, died A.D. 1669, the original home of which is at Tamegrut, in the Wād Drā'a. This order is found among the southern and extreme southern Moroccans.

2. The Sheikhiyya, or Aulād Sidi sh-Sheikh, is, properly speaking, more a political aristocracy than a religious order. Its founder was Sidi 'Abdelkader bin Muhammad, afterwards called Sidi Sheikh, died A.D. 1615. The community is not numerous in Morocco (Tafilat, etc.), and it plays a very insignificant part.

3. The Kerzāziyya, who have some affiliated members in the south of the country, is an order seldom heard of. This congregation was instituted by Aḥmad bin Mūsā, died A.D. 1608, and is of a philanthropical disposition.

4. Another philanthropical fraternity is the Ziyāniyya, founded by Mūlāy Bū Ziyān, died A.D. 1733. He was buried at Kenadsa, between Tafilat and the Figuig. In this locality exists the original home of the order, which is spread all over the extreme south.

There are also traces of the following fraternities, whose origin is from, or their tendency leads towards, the Shādheliyya—viz., the Hansaliyya, Zerrūkiyya, Jazūliyya, Yūsefiyya, and the Gāziyya.

Captain Larras, of the French Military Mission of Marakesh, informed me of an order which up to now has been comparatively unknown,\* the Mbuoniin, whose founder, Sidi 'Abdallah 'Ali, was a native of Mbuono, in

\* It has only been referred to by Captain Erckmann, formerly head of the French Military Mission in Morocco, in his work "*Le Maroc Moderne*," Paris, 1885, p. 106. This work, notwithstanding its imperfections and errors, is one of the best that could be consulted on Morocco as it is.

the Wād Drā'a. I was unable to ascertain when this order was instituted. Its members are few, and its birthplace is in the Taflat. I must not omit to mention lastly the Senūsiyya, who have a *zāwia* at Marakesh, but in Morocco they possess but a small number of adherents.

What political influence do these orders exercise in Morocco? This is the first question which I shall briefly discuss, and to which it is easy for me to answer, after the researches I have made on the spot.

If in former times the religious orders possessed considerable political influence it is not so to-day, for reasons which are easily explained.

Taught by centuries of experience, the Government, cognizant of the power of the orders, has long since neutralized or checked it in a very simple manner. The Makhzen, through its most distinguished members, including the Sultan, as well as through its subordinate agents, affiliated itself to the most important orders, such as the 'Aissāoua, Tūhāmiyyin, Tijāniyya, etc., and thus has been able either to paralyze or modify its power at its pleasure. Certain high personages in Government service (whose names have been communicated to me) are also members of several orders.

The Makhzan has other means at its disposal for keeping the orders in awe, controlling the different branches and the rivalry existing between several of them by superintending the fraternities through the medium of the Kaids and their agents, granting some of them exceptional privileges (for example, the exemption of the 'Aissāoua at Meknas from taxation), etc. Under these conditions it would be surprising to find the orders exercising in Morocco any political power.

It is, however, quite otherwise from a religious and social point of view. I shall enlarge on this subject.

The orders possess a considerable religious influence, as they uphold, assist, and develop the worship of saints,

which is principally the real religion of the Moroccan. Founders of orders and their more eminent sheikhs are, in reality, venerated as saints, and their tombs are the object of frequent visits and pilgrimages.

In the second place, the orders exercise a considerable religious power, inasmuch as they all, in various degrees, profess and practise mysticism. Mysticism, which is one of the essential elements of religion, if not the essence of it, is in Islam, as in other religions, less a doctrine than a certain mode of thinking, feeling, and acting. It shows itself in many ways amongst the fraternities.

We can prove it, firstly, in the "links" of saints which connect the founder of the order with Muhammad, and through him to Allah, and also of their confidence in his divine authority. These "links," which are of primary importance to the fraternities, have no other but a mystical value. One may prove it by the numerous examples given by Depont and Coppolani in their great work on "*Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*."\* These "links," which are formed of names of saints or historical personages (of which more than one are doubtful and not well substantiated), are traced back invariably to the family of the Prophet, then to the angel Gabriel, and finally to Allah.

This may be shown in the teaching and train of thought of the more celebrated sheikhs: theory of degrees, descriptions of "lights," and of the condition of the soul, through which the affiliated have to pass in order to attain ecstasy and to identification with God.† Also in the language of religion: formulas of initiations and of prayers, recommendations of sheikhs to their disciples, etc.; and, lastly, in the particular formalism of the orders (litanies, multiple repetitions of the same invocations and the same religious affirmations), and in the extravagant exercises of certain persons amongst them (the 'Aissāoua, etc.), which intensifies

\* Algiers, 1897.

† Read some striking instances of these vagaries in Rinn's "*Marabouts et Khouan*," Algiers, 1884.

the phenomena of ecstasy and the passions of religious sentiment.

It is through this mysticism and the formalistic practices which it involves that the orders exercise in Morocco such a great religious influence, and consequently a social one, religion being in itself, especially in Islamic countries, a social fact.

I may remark, moreover, from a purely social view, that the fraternity is a sympathetic form of society to the Moroccan, owing to his religious character. The people themselves have the spirit of corporation and of co-operation developed in an extraordinary way. All the functions of social life have a tendency in Morocco to be trained by associations—trades, rifle corps,\* charitable institutions, etc. Religion sanctifies this natural necessity of the Moroccan to act wholly and everywhere in close relationship and communion with his fellow-creatures, and in declaring solemnly in the name of Allah that this necessity is a sacred law, and gives him an irresistible power.

This fact is, in my opinion, of very great importance, because it includes essentially, in all probability, the future of Morocco.

If the country, which is to-day in a state of semi-barbarism, ever joins the stream which irresistibly carries along all nations towards modern progress and civilization, it will be the democratic principle of association and co-operation which urges it on. In the necessity of association, so ardent and so deep, which connects the Moroccan, a man of the Middle Ages, with modern life and terms, is contained the prospect of a better future for these unfortunate people of the Magreb, who deserve, as well as the nations of Europe and America, the lot of a free and responsible people.

Will the hope thus expressed be realized? Why should

\* We do not reckon these rifle associations in the list of religious orders, nor those of the company of acrobats of the *Awlād Sidi Hamméd* or *Mūsā*, etc.

it not be? Humanity, ever since it has striven for progress, has witnessed other miracles not less marvellous. If ever this transformation of Morocco is effected, the orders will have worked and contributed to it, without taking account of it, and, without doubt, without intending it, and the generations of the twentieth century will be able to say that, in the main, the Mussulman was right who said, "He who does not belong to an order belongs to the devil!"\*

\* من لا شيخ له شيعه الشيطان؛ lit. "He who has no sheikh has Satan for a sheikh."

## BRITISH DOMINION IN EASTERN AFRICA.

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS.

It is probable, though at present beyond the bounds of definite prediction, that, with the exception of Egypt, France holds what will prove to be in other ways than area of territory most of Africa worth holding north of the equator. And she has won it hardly enough. Excepting Nigeria, our possessions along the Guinea shore stop short in the matter of boundary just where they should have continued—on the fringe of a healthier country of great possibilities—though for long years far-seeing traders urged upon successive Governments the necessity of extending them. Unfortunately, perhaps, there are always many who urge with some reason that we have more than enough to occupy our rulers' attention in setting our domestic affairs in order, and a deaf ear was turned to appeals and remonstrances until the opportunity had passed.

It is somewhat strange that this should be the case with the lands behind a coast our traders had exploited for several centuries, to which a railroad would at once have been justified by commercial results; but at least the mistake has not been repeated on the eastern side of the continent, where the steel road is almost completed from Kilindini, on the Indian Ocean, to the borders of the ancient kingdom of Uganda. As it was in the West, such traces of civilization and organized rule as Uganda possessed came from the North, up the Nile Valley, for until recently all that was partly good in Africa, or redeemed it from barbarism, originated in the East, and it would seem probable that, excepting its fringe of West Coast heathen, and the terrible Bantu spearmen of the far South, the whole Dark Continent would have been subdued by Moslems but for the white man's advent. The methods of the Arabs and their mixed blood kinsmen left much to be

desired, but now their day is done there are regions, notably on the Congo, where it must be admitted those of the white men show no striking improvement. This is, however, not the case in Uganda.

Conquered, it would seem, by a people of ancient Egyptian origin, whose Bahaima descendants long formed the aristocracy, Uganda had been ruled for several centuries by a single dynasty, and though rumours of a powerful, well-ordered kingdom occasionally reached the coast, it was not until 1862 that white men reached it. Afterwards, though the labours of British missionaries, who were certainly the pioneers, doubtless tended to direct the thoughts of its people, who saw all the region about them being steadily absorbed by the Congo State and the Germans, towards security from such encroachments under this country's suzerainty, it was not until 1890 that an Anglo-German understanding placed it definitely under our influence.

Eight hundred miles of thorn-scrub and mountain-range then divided the kingdom from the Indian Ocean, the long route up the Nile was perilous, and transport difficulties almost insurmountable; but the Administration took hold and grappled with them with a vigour which it is almost a pity was not displayed in other regions—say the Gold Coast or Nigeria. We were there for two reasons, the first of which now more than ever needs a great apologist, for it is a very practical one, if often distorted by sentiment—to improve the black man's condition, and turn to fruitfulness the waste places of the earth; and the second equally justifiable, to get something for ourselves out of it. It has been pointed out often that the two do not go well in hand, and there is no use denying that small-pox and drunkenness sometimes follow the letting in of civilization. Still, even these are, speaking advisedly, incidentals to those who know the Dark Continent, and what its peoples suffered, for instance, at the hands of their Majesties of Benin and Dahomey, the Arab slave-raiders, and the off-

shoots of Zulu military despotism. Anyone with this knowledge can only admit that with all its failings the native in British rule has received an inestimable benefit. Few nations while extending their boundaries have, on the other hand, suffered at home, for commerce extends with conquest, and all in a measure share the influx of wealth, which, however, may not for some time be excessive in the case of Uganda.

Excepting the subsidiary feeders from Abyssinia, the Uganda Protectorate commands the sources of the Nile, and the Power holding these controls the destinies of Egypt, for by the aid of comparatively simple engineering works, that land could be converted into almost an arid wilderness. Partly to insure a road to our Indian Empire, we have become responsible for the welfare of Egypt, and operations in Uganda form a very small addition to the sacrifice already made in the Sudan; while British East Africa and the Uganda Protectorate offer new openings for the Hindoo, who, it would seem, has already largely ousted the Arab merchants, and holds the control of many smaller branches of commerce in his hands.

The brief history of this region under definite British rule since 1894 is a troubled one, besides a record of difficult work well done. Mwanga, King of Uganda, plotted against the new rulers. The work of the missionaries had borne fruit they probably did not expect in the shape of a civil war between Protestant, Catholic, and Moslem proselytes; and Kabarega, King of Unyoro, who had long been a terror of the West, devastated the newly protected territory; while eastwards the Masai and Nand tribesmen plundered the caravans and raided on opportunity. A small army of some 1,600 Sudanese, mostly trained soldiers from Emin Pacha's abandoned province of Equatoria, was formed, and fought well for a time under their British officers; but unfortunately the Moslem privates of this force cherished a more or less definite hope of founding a kingdom of their own, and made trouble when



occasionally it happened that, owing to transport difficulties, their pay was not promptly forthcoming. Also, reading between the lines of official reports, one gathers the old story of the language difficulty, and the inexperienced officer's cast-iron adherence to the letter of the law. This, with a somewhat summary dismissal of native complaints, has always been one of our weaknesses in Africa and elsewhere, while in the matter of cordial relations with their dusky soldiery the French too often surpass us. The writer remembers witnessing one Gallic officer emptying his slender purse to purchase lump sugar, which he distributed with his own hands to his Senegali soldiers, bantering them in their tongue as he did it. They afterwards served him very well in Dahomey.

In any case, though the outbreak would probably have come later, which would, however, have minimized the expense of quelling it, because, with the railroad in operation, there would have been no trouble about supplies, the Sudanese, who had done good work, considered some of their just grievances might have been listened to more considerately, and flung off their allegiance. It was only at a heavy cost, and after dogged fighting, that, with the aid of Indian troops and native levies, their well-known rebellion was suppressed, and the remnant driven to the remoter borders of the Protectorate, where, however, they still remain as a menace to peace, and a small expedition has again been lately sent up against them. We have very many patient, conscientious, and long-suffering officers who have done great things for the native in various parts of Africa, and incidentally wrecked their own constitutions by overwork and anxiety during the process; but there are, unfortunately, a few of the opposite kind, who incur the bitter hostility of white trader and dusky tribesman alike by their languid insolence and ill-chosen assumption of the white man's superiority. It is almost a pity that, where it becomes known that one man can go almost alone into a disaffected district and settle the difficulty by a few civil

speeches, while another dare not set foot therein without a half-company as bodyguard, the latter is not found some other field for his talents. There is need only too often for the iron hand, but a trifling concession made in time has rendered more than one costly expedition unnecessary.

But the building of the railway marks a turning-point in the history of Uganda, for instead of an almost interminable journey from the coast-belt, where most transport beasts were slain by the tse-tse fly, through parched grass and nearly impassable thorn-scrub, where provisions were carried with difficulty on the slave-porters' heads, round and partly over great ranges, running the gauntlet of Nandi raiders and the spears of the Masai, one may to-day travel in swift safety to within ninety miles of an arm of Lake Victoria, Kavirondo Bay. A new steamer crosses the lake to the kingdom of Uganda as distinguished from the rest of the Protectorate, accomplishing in two days a journey the canoes spent ten times as many over, while English mails reach it in a month from London.

There is no doubt that Indian commerce has already benefited by the establishment of the Protectorate, for in most of the stations may be found a prosperous Hindoo—and in one sense it is to be regretted also a German—storekeeper, while Bombay Parsees are rapidly extending their operations; but as yet English traders have made no great progress, though there is apparently a wide field awaiting them. It is a mortifying fact, but indisputable, that where merchandise and modes of business must be modified to suit new markets, the adaptable German, thanks to our open-door policy, usually reaps a large share of the profits before British commercialists muster courage to defy traditions or find out the way. Also, and somewhat illogically, Englishmen who have paid differential duties, or £100 for a trader's permit in other nations' colonies, wax indignant at his success.

According to His Majesty's Commissioner, Sir H.

Johnston, there is in the eastern portion of the Protectorate a region some 12,000 square miles in area, well watered, cool, and healthy, and practically uninhabited, which varies in altitude from 6,000 to 10,000 feet, and which he states is admirably suited for European settlement. This is considerably more than can be said of any other region in Africa between Rhodesia on the one hand, and the countries bordering the Mediterranean on the other. Whether practical experiment will corroborate the view remains to be seen, but throughout the rest of the territory and adjoining East Africa Protectorate malarial fever, dysentery, and other diseases of the tropics are prevalent. The mortality is, however, very much less than it is upon the West Coast, while it may be mentioned, for the benefit of those who live in healthier lands, that, while a good many men die of malarial fever, considerably more suffer from it at fairly regular intervals for years, and then die of something else, but blackwater fever is generally fatal. Dr. Koch has lately asserted that blackwater fever is probably the result of quinine-poisoning, with which statement His Majesty's Commissioner disagrees; but it is certain that almost all the sufferers from the more fatal fever have already dosed themselves largely with quinine during attacks of malaria, while that useful drug has other unpleasant results which Anglo-Indians as well as Africans and British doctors know. There is no doubt that some white men acquire the quinine habit just as others sink under the influence of alcohol, and the writer lived with one who would render himself deaf, nerveless, and sink into a state of half-conscious misery, by the excessive absorption of quinine. Want of water, or, rather, water which can be used, is one of the chief drawbacks of Eastern Africa, for large tracts are parched, while the rivers are either torrents full of crocodiles or broad sluggish currents choked with giant reeds flowing through swampy and unhealthy valleys, so that the connection between fertility and fever has become an axiom.

While there is land which will grow the cereals known to Europeans, as well as native grains, and other tracts at lower altitudes where coffee, tea, sugar, and almost any product of the tropics would thrive, the commodity that offers perhaps the greatest immediate inducement to exploitation is rubber. There is always a market in England for good rubber, while at times the demand outruns the supply. According to Sir H. Johnston, an area of some 30,000 square miles is densely covered with rubber-producing trees, which, as in West Africa, are chiefly of the *Landolphia* family, or parasites and vines. Here, too, the native is disinclined to undertake the gathering of rubber in the forest when bananas grow round his hut, and when he does so generally ruthlessly destroys the trees. In most parts of heathen Africa, and sometimes even more so in those faintly civilized, the labour problem is a serious one, for the negro, and to a less extent the Bantu, lives for the present only, and, not recognising the necessity of providing for the morrow, will not work unless he is hungry. This is an ancient difficulty, and has to be grappled with to-day in case of enterprises so far apart as the new railroad in the Gold Coast Colony, and that between the Victoria Nyanza and Kilindini, where India supplies the labour. Thus, one reads without surprise that trade improves, and the revenues of Uganda increase in times of dearth and famine. The inhabitants must then either collect rubber and ivory or starve, and there are export duties, while here fine tusks are hoarded like Indian jewellery, and being converted into currency under pressure of famine give a start to local commerce.

Rubber-gathering is neither a pleasant nor healthy process. Indeed, there is usually sickness where the *Landolphia* grow, and the semi-coagulated juice wound off on exuding around the human arm dipped in saturated brine, for some reason often causes horrible skin diseases. It should exude from an incision in the bark, but the black man usually hacks the tree to secure the largest

immediate yield, with the result that many productive areas on the West Coast have been utterly devastated, and there are signs that much the same thing may happen in Uganda. It is almost useless trying to impress upon the sable population the necessity of providing for another year. At present any native is encouraged to gather rubber in the forests vested in the Crown, and, including duty, the local price averages about 1s. per pound, while His Majesty's Commissioner estimates that another 3d. would suffice for transport *viâ* the new railway to the English market. This would leave a profit to the white merchant of over 100 per cent., but the necessity of maintaining a (usually sickly) white staff, and other costly items incidental to Africa, would make a large hole in that profit. Only those with inside experience of trade with the Dark Continent know how money is needed for side-issues; return passages for invalided assistants, the cost of bringing new ones out, and the "dash," or presents, alone constitute a heavy drain.

Ivory is also still plentiful, though the indiscriminate slaughter of elephants has been checked by Game Regulations, and ostriches with fine plumage are common and offer inducements for a feather-producing industry, but attempts to tame the former have hitherto proved unsuccessful. The African elephant differs in several ways from that of India, but there is no conclusive reason why what has so long been done in the latter country should be impossible in the other.

The land question has apparently been considered with due regard to justice towards the original possessors, for wherever it is cultivated or inhabited the tribes or individuals are confirmed in their occupation; and in those districts where a degree of civilization (Uganda was not a wholly savage state) pertains very carefully planned allotments were made with the native chiefs' assistance, while only the waste and forest lands are invested in the Crown, and, as they usually lie at high elevation, could be opened

for European colonization. Peace and order are maintained by the Uganda Rifles, a force of 2,000 Indians and natives, with another 1,500 native constabulary, who are all commanded by British officers; while the young King of Uganda is bound to call upon all his subjects for military service in time of emergency. It is gratifying to find, as a testimony to the natives' faith in their new rulers, that, when 3,000 men were asked for to suppress the marauding Nandi, 5,000 appeared, and the surplus could hardly be turned away. Much the same thing happened on minor occasions, while the Special Commissioner, who throughout his report makes no attempt to cover either failures or shortcomings, states that he found every intelligent native thankful for British rule.

This is not surprising when one reads that, in a region where the subject was much better treated than in many other parts of Africa, whenever a chief died, every person his successor could find within two miles was immediately sacrificed, which would presumably cause wholesale slaughter in case of a populous village, while a war always signalized the new accession, and on the Lake islands what is termed discreetly disgusting cannibalism was practised. On the West Coast men are less bashfully reticent, and until a few years ago one could gather horrible stories with full details at Benin and other more populous creeks in Nigeria, and exploring them at ebb-tide discover highly corroborative evidence. An occasional administrative blunder is considerably better than almost unlimited and revolting murder, while African horrors are considerably more real than some of those who scoff at them at home would probably believe.

The present King, or Kabaka, of Uganda proper—for his sway does not extend over the adjoining Protectorate—is Daudi Chua, baptized by the Anglican missionaries, and five years old, while the country is governed by three native regents under British supervision, for so far as possible power is left in the hands of the former authorities.

What the future of Uganda is time alone will show, but other colonies in that continent with a far worse climate, fewer natural advantages, and no railroad, have made great strides, maintained steamboat lines, and enriched merchants and manufacturers at home, and it is at least probable that Uganda will equal them. If so, she should have small difficulty in making a return for the money spent on the railroad by (and we can neglect no subsidiary feeder) contributing some share to the commercial prosperity of the island portion of Great Britain. Those who desire more definite information, with ample details, may refer to the most carefully and fairly written report on the Protectorate of Uganda by Sir H. H. Johnston, Special Commissioner, just issued as a Parliamentary Paper, entitled Africa No. 7, 1901, to which the writer is indebted for much information.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE first work we have to notice among the various publications on the East and Orientalism is vol. i. of the "Actes du douzième Congrès international des Orientalistes" (Rome, 1899).\* This volume, which has been so long in appearing, is, as regards size and print, a splendid one. Unfortunately, however, the proofs have been revised in such an extraordinarily careless way that errors superabound. The first part consists of 273 pages, and includes the summary of the bulletins of the Congress. If there was only this first part, which contains the names of Orientalists who took part in the Congress, their official speeches, and the summary of their labours, all spoilt by printer's errors, one might consign it to the waste-paper basket. We lay stress on this very regrettable circumstance, in the hope that it will not be repeated in the succeeding volumes. The second part of the volume contains contributions communicated to the Congress upon India and Iran.

Under the title of "Oriental Studies,"†—a selection of papers read by members of the Oriental Seminary of Johns Hopkins University at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society held in New York, April, 1901—is an interesting collection on Semitic Orientalism, of which we quote a few :

1. "The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic," by Haupt. The learned Professor of Baltimore interprets that beginning as follows :

"He who saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth, who beheld the waters of death, undergoing all kinds of hardships : he obtained at the same time the plant of promise, the primal knowledge of everything ; he found the secret, he revealed the mystery, he brought the account from the time before the flood, he made the long journey, undergoing all kinds of hardships, and wrote on a tablet all his adventures. He built the wall of Erech the well-walled, and Eanna (the temple of Istar in Erech) the sacred and holy abode."

This restoration of a partly-mutilated fragment is very interesting.

2. "The Polychrome Lion recently found in Babylon," by Karl Grimm.

The lion found in 1899 was admirably reconstructed by Dr. Koldewey and Herr Andrae (an expedition sent out by the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft) from hundreds of fragments of glazed tiles. Completely restored from head to tail from the genuine pieces, it teaches indisputably, writes

\* Florence : Société typographique florentine, 1901.

† Newhaven, Conn., 1901 (reprinted from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*).



the author of the valuable paper, that the artists of Nebuchadnezzar—at least, as far as the representation of the lion is concerned—were true masters of their art.

3. "The Meaning and Etymology of the Word תוֹשִׁיָּה in the Old Testament," by the same.

"A careful examination of the passages where the word occurs appears to show that the original signification of the word is *prop, support*. Subsequently it came to mean *help* in general, and by a slight modification *success, power, source of help, reliability*." As regards the etymology, many scholars connect it with תִּשְׁ (existence); but the author is right in saying that Hebrew תִּשְׁ and Assyrian *isû* (to have) go back to a stem with an initial *yôd originarium* (it is not the root with תוֹשִׁיָּה).<sup>\*</sup> The word must be considered, according to the author, a form *tugtilat*, from a stem *asû* (to support, to help).

4. "The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians, and the Study of Syriac among them," by Oussani. A very interesting report on these studies.

5. "The Arabic Dialect of Baghdâd," by the same. It is a valuable contribution to the study of this dialect that seems hitherto to have attracted but little attention.

I have to note a new review—*Oriens Christianus* ('Römische Halbjahrhefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients, herausgegeben von Priestercollegium des deutschen Campo Santo unter der Schriftleitung,' von Dr. A. Baumsterk).<sup>†</sup> The first fascicule of the new review contains Arabic, Syriac, and Greek ecclesiastic texts, with translations. I may mention an article by Graeven on a type of Christ in figures of Buddha ("Ein Christustypus in Buddhafiguren").

There has just been published by V. Chauvin a new and interesting biography of a polygraph scholar—that of Jean Noel Paquot,<sup>‡</sup> who died at Liège in 1803, and was bibliographer, Hebraist, theologian, and historian.

#### OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

Among the commentaries of the Old Testament we will notice, in the first place, that of H. Gunkel on Genesis.<sup>§</sup> In this work the author has adopted a method of composition previously employed by Lenormant in his translation of Genesis in 1883, and by Addis in his "Documents of the Hexateuch" in 1892. He has grouped the various accounts, chapters, fragments of chapters, verses, fragments of verses appertaining to the same document. In this manner he gives the translation and the exegesis of the accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, firstly, according to the Jahvist; secondly, according to the sacerdotal code. The style is altogether much clearer and much more intelligible, and on the whole the work possesses a character of great scientific value.

<sup>\*</sup> Compare what I say about the relations and permutations of י and י in my "Essai sur les origines des partis saducéen et pharisien," Paris, 1883, p. 56 s.s.

<sup>†</sup> Rome: Typografia della A. C. de propaganda fide, 1901.

<sup>‡</sup> Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1901.

<sup>§</sup> "Genesis übersetzt und erklärt." Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1901.

Marti, well known from his remarkable works on the Old Testament, has published a commentary on the Book of Daniel\* which deserves attention. We notice in this work several important points. Marti believes, with reason, that the Book of Daniel is by one and the same author. He rejects the hypothesis of Reuss, according to which the chapters of the Book of Daniel appeared successively, like political pamphlets. As regards the period, Marti is of opinion that the composition of the Book of Daniel was previous to the purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus (December, 165). In short, he gives a new explanation of the problem of the duality of languages (Hebrew and Aramean) in which the Book of Daniel is written. According to him, this work was composed entirely in Aramean, but as it was desirable to have in the collection of sacred books accounts written at least partly in Hebrew (the sacred language), they translated into Hebrew the beginning and the end of the volume. This explanation, which gives rise to objections, and which should be supported by positive and distinct evidence, is, at all events, original.

Söderblom has studied anew the question, so long discussed, of the influence of Mazdeism on the Jewish religion in a work entitled "*La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme à la lumière des croyances parallèles dans les autres religions.*"† In this work on comparative eschatology, the author concludes negatively that the Mazdean eschatology has not exercised any influence on that of the Jews. It would take too long to discuss afresh this problem, on which many scholars as well as myself have come to a different decision. I shall only refer the reader, who may be interested in the subject, to the articles I have published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (1890), and in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (1884), and particularly to those of Cheyne in the *Expository Times* (1891).

The Polychrome Bible in Hebrew, edited by P. Haupt, has been enriched by a new and very interesting part—"The Book of Proverbs, with Notes," by the late A. Müller and E. Kautzsch.‡ In this fine Hebrew edition of the Proverbs are to be found all the evidence of deep learning which gives such a value to the German translation of the Old Testament by Kautzsch.

#### ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The fifth part of the "*Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes,*" by V. Chauvin, has been published.§ It includes the second part of the "*Thousand and One Nights.*" The more the author progresses with his great work, the more we admire its plan, execution, and learning. A few details about the last volume will not be without interest.

The volume contains the summary of stories arranged in alphabetical order. It begins with *Abbâs* and terminates with *Fleur des jardins*, and has in all 180 stories. Each summary is preceded by (1) informa-

\* "*Das Buch Daniel erklärt.*" Tübingen: Mohr, 1901.

† "*Annales du Musée Guimet,*" vol. ix. Paris: Leroux, 1901.

‡ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901.

§ Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1901.

tion about the manuscripts in which the story figures ; (2) information of all the printed Arabic texts which contain it ; (3) a record of all its translations into other languages ; (4) the enumeration of identical stories which are not borrowed from the text of the "Thousand and One Nights" itself. The summary of the story is taken from the Egyptian text, unless otherwise indicated. The author has included therein all possible information, particularly that relating to folk-lore.

If we wished to sum up our impressions and our opinion of this important publication, we should say that the works of Chauvin on the "Thousand and One Nights," together with those of Basset, are the most remarkable contributions, from a scientific point of view, in this celebrated collection of stories. We may add, with respect to this, that we are awaiting with great interest the publication of the scholarly researches of Basset on the poetical portion of the "Thousand and One Nights."

The dialects of Southern Arabia form the subject of a voluminous publication of 772 pages by Landberg.\* It is an interesting collection of popular poetry which is rather indifferent from a poetical point of view, and several narratives (descriptions of handicrafts, several notes on circumcision, etc.) in the dialect of Hadramaut. These texts, the author informs us, have been collected by him during a period of five years, and were translated and annotated at Aden amongst the natives. The texts are accompanied by a translation and a commentary in French. The volume ends with an important glossary and an index. We have consulted this glossary and perused the work with great interest, notwithstanding its defects and imperfections. There is nothing more fascinating than the study of the dialects and popular idioms, of whatever language it may be. The author has promised that this publication will be followed by two other volumes, and afterwards by a dictionary of all the dialects of Arabia. We shall take particular note of this, as being so very interesting to an Arabist.

Attention was drawn in our last report to the work by H. C. Lea, entitled "The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion."† We now desire to refer again to this important publication by the eminent American historian. The volume is a mere fragment of the great history of the Spanish Inquisition which he is preparing.

The work is divided into eleven chapters, treating successively of the following subjects: The Mudéjares, Ximenes, the Germania (or Brotherhood, which broke out in 1520; it was a rising of the commons against the cruelty and oppression of the nobles), Conversion by Edict, the Inquisition, Conversion by Persuasion, Condition of the Moriscos, the Rebellion of Granada, Dangers from Abroad, Expulsion, Results. The appendix is so full of original documents as to render it of very great interest. The author points out in a very clear way the great political blunder committed by Spain in persecuting and expelling the Moors, and

\* "Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie, meridionale: I. Hadramaut." Leide: Brill, 1901.

† Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Co., 1901.

the misfortunes which happened in consequence. We cannot but concur in the conclusion of the historian : " While the West of Europe, in spite of wars and revolutions, was bounding forward in the eager competition for progress, Spain, sacrificing everything to religious unity, sank deeper and deeper in poverty and misery—a paradise for priests and friars, and familiars of the Inquisition, where every intellectual impulse was repressed, and every effort for material improvement crippled."

The author gives to the word Mudéjares the following etymology : " Mudéjares, the corruption of Mudegelin, an opprobrious term bestowed upon them (the Moorish population of Spain) by the Moors, derived from the word ' degel,' which we are told was equivalent to Antichrist " (Luis del Marmol Carbajal : " Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos de Granada"). The etymology of Mudéjares, we agree with Müller and other Arabists, must be looked for elsewhere. I may here remark that the Arabic word from which Mudéjar is derived is Mudajjan (مُدَجَّجٌ), which is a verbal passive adjective of the second form of دَجَّجَ (to stay, to reside), and the second form *to cause to stay, to allow to remain*. A Mudejjan or Mudéjar is therefore one to whom permission has been given to remain where he is. This etymology agrees exactly with the definition of the Mudéjares given by Marmol in the work mentioned above : " Los que se quedaron en España en los lugares rendidos " (Those who remain in Spain in the subjugated places).

## TWO BODLEIAN MSS.

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

AMONG the treasures of the Bodleian is a Persian translation of the Gospels. It is No. 1,835, p. 1053, of Sachau and Ethé's Catalogue of the Persian MSS., and it is the source of the Persian version of the Gospels published in vol. v. of Walton's Polyglott. The Latin translation which accompanies it there was made by Samuel Clarke, and not by Thomas Greaves, as erroneously stated in the Catalogue just referred to. What Greaves did was to supply the notes published in the last volume of the Polyglott. Another Latin translation was made by Christopher Bode, and published at Helmstedt in 1750-51, but this translation does not appear to be in the British Museum. The manuscript was brought to England by Pocock, and is a small, thick quarto, well written and well preserved. It was executed at Kaffa, now Feodosia, in the Crimea, in July, 1341, by Simon, son of Joseph, and grandson of Abraham, of Tabrīz. The date is given in the colophon, but the word *sāsad* (300) was not clear even 250 years ago, and so the anonymous editor (Pierson ?) of Whelock's translation remarks, "Nisi fallar in verbo سید *cujus literæ semi-exesæ oculos fere effugiunt.*" However, the writing is certainly old, "good old Nashkī," as the Catalogue describes it, and 1341 is probably correct. It could not be 1641, for the MS. seems to have come into Pocock's possession at Constantinople between 1637-40. The copyist says he made the copy by the encouragement and command of his master, the glory of merchants and brother of the pure church, Khwājah Amīr, son of Shamsad-daula, son of Shirāna, known as Tiflīsī (of Tiflis). He begs that whoever reads the MS. will say a Paternoster and an Ave Maria for the poor scribe. (See the account of the MS. in vol. i. of the Polyglott, p. 102, of the first edition.) But though the copy was made at Kaffa, a city

described by the copyist as inhabited by Tarsīān\* and Christians, as if the two words were not synonymous, the translation was made at Tiflis by John, the son of Presbyter Joseph, the Jacobite. The translator does not give the date of his translation in the preface, which he says was written at Tiflis, but it probably was not long before the execution of the copy, for it was made at a time when Georgia was in the possession of the Persians. The reason he gives for making the translation is that the people were all in search of gain, and looking out for employment, and that for this purpose a knowledge of Persian was necessary. He fears that this may lead them to the study of Persian poetry and other unprofitable literature, and so he offers them a translation of the Gospels as a substitute. Nor does he mention from what language he made his translation. It appears, however, from Greaves' notes, and also from the translator mentioning his knowledge of Syriac, that the translation was made from that tongue. At the beginning of each Gospel there is a statement of the language in which it was first written. The Gospel of St. Matthew is stated to have been written in Hebrew in Palestine, and afterwards in Syriac at Antioch; that of St. Mark to have been written at Rome in Latin; that of St. Luke at Alexandria in Egyptian Greek; and that of St. John at Ephesus in Rūmī Greek.

The history of the MS. is not fully known, but it appears to have been sent to Pocock at Constantinople by his Aleppo friends William Cordery and Richard Hill. In Leonard Twells' "Life of Pocock," p. 14, there is the following passage:

"Having frequent opportunities of sending to Aleppo, he often desired several of his old friends there to be diligent in taking up such (manuscripts) as the country afforded. The chief of these were Mr. William Cordery

\* The copyist calls himself a *tarsā*, perhaps meaning that he was a monk.

and Mr. Richard Hill, English merchants, and indeed the service they rendered not only to this learned man, but to learning itself, well deserves that they should be remembered, especially the first, who was also very assisting in this way to some others. By the diligence of these he got the Persian Gospels, which proved afterwards to be of good use in the editing of the English Polyglott Bible. They waited a considerable time before they could buy these, first from one called by them Cogie Caudie (Khwājah Qāzī?), and after his death from his son, who would not be induced to sell this book till at length his poverty forced him to it."

It would appear from this statement that the MS. was obtained from a Khwājah, and presumably from a descendant of the copyist's patron.

## II.—THE RAUZAT-AT-TĀHIRIN (GARDEN OF THE PURE).

This is a large work, and rarely to be met with in a complete state. The best copy which I have seen is the one in the Bodleian, and which is numbered 100, p. 46, of the Catalogue. It is complete, and gives the account of Bengal and the islands, which is defective in the otherwise good copy in the British Museum (Orig. 168). It contains the book-plate of Archibald Swinton and has the following note :

"Received this book of Captain Dow for Rs. 300, Arcot, or £37 10s. sterling, on condition of returning on demand in Europe for the same sum 1 December, 1765." There is an account of the Rauzat-tāhirīn in Elliot's "Historians of India," vol. vi., and in Rieu's "Catalogue," i., 119*b*. The author was Muḥammad Tāhir, son of 'Imāda-d-dīn Sabzawārī, and he wrote his book towards the end of Akbar's reign, though it was not completed till the beginning of the reign of his successor. In one place he describes the conquest of Portugal by Spain, and how he waited at Goa for a year for the coming of the Spanish

Viceroy. He then went to Cambay, where his father was Mutasaddī of the port, and afterwards accompanied him to Akbar's court. He writes in a disparaging way of the Feringhis or Portuguese, saying that though they wear fine clothes, they are personally very dirty, and do not wash or purify themselves. They are good shots, and courageous at sea, but are not so on dry land. In another place he describes how they disperse waterspouts by firing cannon at them.

The most valuable part of his work, however, is near the end, where he describes the Kings of Bengal. At p. 615<sup>b</sup> of the Bodleian copy, and 691<sup>b</sup> of the British Museum MS., he says that Bakhtiyar Khiljī was the first to introduce the religion of Islam into Bengal. Twenty-six persons ruled over that kingdom in succession, and of these, twenty-four ruled for 207 years, 11 months and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  days. He then gives an account of them, beginning with Sultān Fakhra-d-dīn, the armour-bearer. His accounts are fuller than those in Ferishta and the Rayāz-us-salātīn, and give some new facts.\* Apparently he had access to new sources of information, for he speaks of knowledge attained from a Bengal zamindār, named Rajah Roghū Nāth, whose grandfather had served under 'Alāū-d-dīn Husain, and from Khwajah Bāgir Anṣārī, who was for a long time Bakhsī in Bengal. Among other things he tells us that the famous Rājah Kāns, or Kāsī, or Ganes—for the name seems to be written by him in all three ways—came from Orissa. This differs from the commonly received account, derived from Buchanan, that he came from Dīnājapūr. He also tells us that the throne of Bengal was afterwards claimed by Chandra Bhān, the grandson of Kāns, and that he waged war with the Musulman Kings of Bengal, Nāsir Shāh and Fīrūz Shāh. At p. 694<sup>a</sup> of the British Museum copy, he tells how Rajah Chandra Bhān sent an ultimatum to Fīrūz

\* It appears from an inscription published at p. 58 of Ravenshaw's "Gaur" that a child of the author is buried at Pandua, in the Malda district.



Shāh to the effect that Bengal was the domain of his ancestors, and that Fīrūz Shāh and all the Muhammadans should quit it within three days. Like the missionary in G. A. Sala's story of the conversion of the Major, Fīrūz Shāh and his people preferred to receive this message "standing," and a great battle ensued in which Chandra Bhān was wounded and put to flight, and 150 of his wedded wives, 160 of his dancing-girls, and 1,000 elephants were captured. All this is new and interesting, and it seems much more likely that Rajah Kāns was one of the Ganga-vansa Kings of Orissa than that he was a petty land-holder in Bengal or Bhatūrīa. It seems also to receive corroboration from the Jagannath inscription published by Man Mohan Chakravartī in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895, p. 136, where there is a reference to a battle between Vīra Bhānū Devā II., and Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. It seems almost certain that this Ghiāṣu-d-dīn is the well-known King of Bengal, the correspondent of Hāfiz, and who, according to our author, died in 784 A.H., or 1382 A.D., and not someone belonging to Southern India. Possibly Rajah Chandra Bhān may be Bhānū Devā III. of the Orissa Chronicle.

Though not immediately connected with the subject of this paper, it seems worth mentioning as likely to be interesting to students of the history of Central Asia that the Indian Institute at Oxford has a shelf full of Turki manuscripts, and consisting of poetry, history, and biographies of Hazrat Āfāq and other saints. These belong to the Shaw collection, and were presented to the Institute in December, 1880, by General Younghusband. In the same press there are also two Persian biographies of saints; one is of Makhdūm 'Azim. These also form part of the Shaw collection, and were brought from Yārkand, etc.

## A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH MISSIONS TO SIAM.\*

BY PINYA.

FOR a long time the influence of France had been steadily growing in the neighbouring State of Annam, with its dependencies of Tonquin and Cochin China. French missionaries had been established in that kingdom as early as the seventeenth century, though, owing to the frequency of anti-Christian agitations, their labours had never produced anything but the poorest of results. In 1787, however, the throne of Annam having been seized by a usurper, the rightful Sovereign fled to Siam, and there enlisted the sympathy of the French Bishop at Bangkok, through his intercession gained the aid of Louis XVI., executed a treaty with that monarch which placed Annam at the mercy of a host of French soldiers of fortune, and, with their assistance, regained his throne, but with a millstone of debt of the largest dimensions fastened about his neck, and with his country hopelessly involved in French schemes of colonial aggrandisement which, in spite of years of frantic struggling, resulted in its ultimate annexation. The blow fell when, in 1857, the French Government, having entirely failed by diplomacy to obtain recognition of the extravagant rights secured by the treaty wrung from a miserable refugee, and incensed beyond measure at the continual persecution of its most active agents the missionaries, fell back upon the use of its superior force, declared war upon Annam, and from that moment proceeded openly to the absorption of as great a part of Indo-China as it could get at, giving out as a reason for so doing that an all-wise Providence had clearly decreed that the entire peninsula should properly belong to France as a check upon the pride of the insolent English established in India.

\* Continued from pp. 120-133 of our issue of July, 1901.

In pursuance of this policy Cochin China and Tonquin were overrun, Cambodia, though clearly under the protection of Siam, was occupied, Siamese acquiescence being obtained by means peculiar to French diplomacy, and in time the French frontier was advanced from the East right up to the borders of Siam proper. From here France began once more to look covetously on the fair and rich country which had before so narrowly eluded her grasp. The valley of the Ménam being, with the exception of that of the Irrawaddy, the richest part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, it goes without saying that the French colonials lost no time in preparing to advance upon it, to carry the blessings of civilization, as understood by that nation, among its people, and to transfer its vast wealth from the hands of its effete rulers to the very empty pockets of the colonial exchequer.

Unfortunately, however, the interests of France in Siam had by now become so inconsiderable that some trouble was experienced in finding a pretext for that interruption of friendly relations which even the French recognised as necessary, in view of the public opinion of Europe, before they could enter upon the sacred duty of shedding enlightenment upon a benighted people. At this juncture the Roman Catholic mission, once more becoming, through the exertions of Pallegoix and his successors, a widespread body, offered itself as a powerful instrument in aid of the French policy, and opportunely furnished a means of overcoming the awkward difficulty which lay in the way.

It has already been shown how, with the ratification of the treaty with France, the mission lands in Siam became practically so many parcels of French territory, and the priests in charge of them, entirely beyond the reach of the law, were enabled to extend protection to all such as chose to seek it by becoming Christians, and to screen their protégés from any action of the Siamese Government. It has also been shown how the persons most ready to avail

themselves of such protection were of Chinese, Annamese, Cambodian, and other foreign descent, and how it therefore soon came about that the priests found themselves at the head of small colonies of persons, mostly other than Siamese, inhabiting the mission lands, holding themselves aloof from the country people, and admitting no other ruler than their pastor, backed by the vaguely imagined power of the French Government.

The danger caused to the Siamese Government by this power in the hands of the priests was very great, for the number of inhabitants of Siam who were of foreign extraction and in close sympathy with the French protégés was very considerable.

The constant wars which disturbed the Indo-Chinese peninsula in the past, as well as the occasional violent outbursts of tyranny which characterized its rulers, were the causes of frequent migrations amongst its people. Immigrants were invariably welcomed by the different rulers as a ready means of increasing their population, and therewith their strength and prosperity; but, though well treated on the whole, they were usually somewhat looked down upon and avoided by the true natives, and were therefore left with their peculiar speech and customs almost unaffected, even after many years, by their changed surroundings. Thus, on the banks of the Ménam are to be seen, at this day, colonies, some of them of great extent, of Annamese, Cambodians, Peguans, Chinese, and Malays, occupying lands which they have held for generations, forming an integral part of the Siamese nation, but absolutely distinct in language, costume, architecture, and in some cases religion.

Now, as the Annamese, Cambodian, and Chinese settlers began to perceive the undoubted advantages enjoyed by their friends and relatives living under the illegal protection of the French priests, and refraining with impunity from the payment of revenue and from the rendering of the detested military service to which they were most of

them liable, a tendency sprang up to join the French missions, in order to secure equal privileges for themselves, and, as the years went on, this increased to such an extent as seriously to alarm the Siamese Government, which, while the followers of the priests were but a small and insignificant number, had, with foolish contempt and indifference, overlooked their totally illegal actions. At this late date, therefore, it was determined no longer silently to acquiesce in the protection of undoubted Siamese subjects by the French priests, and vigorous measures were taken to eradicate the growing evil. Defaulters of revenue and military service, illicit distillers, and others, who, under the protection of the priests, were habitually transgressing the laws of their country, suddenly found themselves proceeded against, their property sequestered, and their persons imprisoned by the decree of their incensed Sovereign, and the vaunted prestige of the missionaries unable for the moment to shield them from the punishment of their misdeeds. Thereupon arose from the mission a heartrending outcry against the wicked Siamese Government, so lost to all the commonest feelings of humanity as to actually proceed to recover by force the just dues which it could not possibly obtain by any other means. Touching stories of the homes of protégés broken up, of French territory (the mission lands) violated, and of *nos nationaux* (the priests) insulted and derided, came in from all parts of the country ; the Bishop hastened to appeal for aid to the French representative at Bangkok, and the enthusiastic expansionists on the other side of the frontier found to their astonishment and delight that their treaty was being violated, their country insulted, and that hundreds of French protégés, in the agonies of unprovoked persecution, were crying out to them for deliverance. The right of the so-called protégés to that title was not at all considered ; it was enough that they were Annamese and Cambodians, hence, of course, from the French possessions of Annam and Cambodia, and, as such, proper persons for the enjoyment of French

protection. In other words, they made the pleasing discovery that France possessed interests in Siam of the most sacred and vital nature, to be protected from the insidious encroachments of the Siamese at all costs.

It is not intended here to detail the long series of disputes which now ensued between France and Siam; the constant incursions into Siamese territory of so-called commercial agents, armed to the teeth and bearing instructions to force trade where no trade was, and to insist on protecting French interests where none existed; the inevitable collisions which these incursions brought about, the subsequent demands made by the French Government, followed in 1893 by the deliberate invasion and annexation of the Siamese territory east of the river Mékong, the blockade of the Ménam, and the forcing upon Siam of a grossly unjust and humiliating treaty. All these are matters with which the Roman Catholic priests were not directly concerned, though their mission certainly profited immensely thereby, and the discussion of which would therefore be out of place in this brief outline history of the Roman Catholic missions in Siam. It is sufficient to say that throughout the period occupied by this unequal contest the mission took advantage of the condition of abject terror of the French, to which continual threatening had reduced the Siamese Government, to strengthen their own position enormously.

The protection of Annamese, and other settlers, from imaginary evil having been recognised by France as a sacred duty, the priests of the mission were encouraged by the French Government to go about among them, persuading as many as possible to accept the shelter which they were now more than ever able to offer to their followers in consequence of the Siamese reluctance to interfere with them and so add to the number of questions at issue with France. The result was that still more Annamese, Cambodians, and others became converted to the profitable Catholic religion. The mission now also began to acquire land outside that granted for religious purposes, and in

direct contravention of all treaty rights, by advancing money to the more thriftless of its followers on the security of the title-deeds of their lands. Illicit distilleries, opium shops, and gambling houses were successfully run under the shelter of the Church, and greatly to the profit of the mission, so that, when the acute stage of the quarrel with France had been got over by the surrender of considerable territory and the subsequent ratification of this robbery by the new treaty, the mission had so used its opportunities as to have largely increased its following, to have acquired considerable property, and to feel assured of the future support of the Government of French Indo-China in recognition of the valuable services of the priests, not only in supplying a pretext for intervention in Siamese affairs, but as secret agents of the French Government during the period which elapsed between that intervention and the signing of the said treaty.

The French colonial party was, however, but ill contented with the result of the action in Siam, which it had forced the Home Government to take, when it was found that, notwithstanding the efforts which had been made to create a *casus belli*, the colonial empire had been enlarged merely by the addition of some thousands of square miles of barren, poverty-stricken highlands, while the smiling plains of the Ménam Valley and the busy city of Bangkok still lay quite beyond the sphere of its benign influence. It was, in fact, found necessary to continue the cry "Au Siam!" with even greater vociferousness than before, and, by continuing the campaign of aggression, to goad the Siamese, as soon as possible, into taking such further imprudent action as should compel the Home Government to adopt measures which must result in the planting of the glorious tricolour once and for ever upon the walls of Bangkok.

In order to the more successfully carry out this policy, it was necessary to increase French interests in the country. From the commercial point of view it seemed impossible to do this, as the amount of genuine French trade with Siam

was practically nil, and French merchants could not be induced under any conditions to settle in the country. It was, however, imperative that Consuls should be established at all the important points in the country, and a way was soon found of supplying protégés for them by the ingenious device of claiming as such all those Annamese and Cambodian settlers whose families had resided in Siam for less than three generations—that is, whose grandfathers had been born in the then independent kingdom of Annam or in the Siamese dependency of Cambodia. This sweeping category included not only most of those persons who were already enjoying illegal protection as members of the Catholic Church, but also many thousands of others. The scheme was received with delight by the colonial party. The French Minister to Siam, ably assisted by the Consul, a fervidly patriotic Frenchman of Eastern extraction, took it up enthusiastically.

The protests of the Siamese Government, who repeatedly pointed out the absolute illegality of the measure, were brushed aside; the violently anti-Siamese newspaper, edited by an Irish teacher of the chief Catholic school and subsidized by the Government at Saigon, appeared with the most wonderful articles justifying the measure; many of the priests of the mission were sent out into the interior armed with blank registration papers and with full authority to enroll as citizens of France as many of the ignorant jungle-folk as they could seduce, by all sorts of promises, from their proper allegiance; and the officials of the French consulates were kept very busy entering the names of their new compatriots on their books. Now, indeed, the Catholic mission was high upon the wave of prosperity. The priests of the outlying districts were vested with authority by the Consul over all French protégés in their neighbourhood. The Siamese Government, still trembling from the shock of its last disastrous conflict with France, was absolutely unable to stem the tide, and, beyond protesting, could do nothing but allow the priests to have their own way until



a means could be devised for combating their influence without bringing on its own head the wrath of France.

Most of the people thus claimed as French subjects had rather less right to that distinction than have the descendants of Huguenot refugees settled in England at the present day, and many of them, moreover, had no desire whatever to change their nationality. Thanks, however, to the activity of the priests, applications flowed in abundantly. An applicant for registration had merely to state that his grandfather came from a locality now in French occupation for papers to be immediately granted to him. No trouble was taken to prove the truth of his statement, and after a time even the formality of the statement was omitted, so that anybody on mere application could become a French subject. As the advantages became more evident, the registrations increased, including not only Annamese and Cambodians, but Chinese, Laos, Malays, and, in fact, all sorts and conditions of men. Such persons, if living at a distance from the Consular Courts, came under the complete authority of the priests, whether they happened to be Catholics or not, and the Siamese Government saw itself obliged to acquiesce in their inclusion among those subject to the laws of France alone. What these laws really amounted to, as administered by the priests and other consular agents, may be best gathered from the fact that, far up in the North of Siam, a number of *bonâ-fide* British-born Burmese, domiciled in the country and in full enjoyment of all the privileges of British subjects, were a short while ago induced by the Catholic missionaries to deliberately tear up their English papers and purchase French certificates, afterwards explaining, as their reason for so doing, that under British jurisdiction they were constrained to live like honest men, whereas their new French masters made no such stipulation, but supported them always, whether right or wrong.

Although the Siamese Government was constrained, from fear of international complications, to witness this gradual

undermining of its authority and alienation of its people with no more than the weak remonstrance contained in formal protests preordained to futility, yet there were frequent occasions when the outraged feelings of its officials, too often of a pompous and tyrannical nature, became too much for them, and hurried them into foolish actions of which their adversaries were not slow to take advantage. Thus, an offender taken in the act, and brought before the Governor of a remote district, triumphantly produces French papers to which he could have no shadow of right. The angry official refuses to release him, whereupon the watchful priest appears, and, brandishing the terrors of an enraged France, demands the instant liberation of his protégé. Then follows intemperate language on both sides, until the Governor, insulted before his subordinates and completely carried away, orders the arrest of the priest himself, and in so doing acts exactly in accordance with the desires of the hired promoters of discord. The Francophile press soon hears of the affair, and gives its own lurid version of it. "Our nationals are persecuted! Our priests are martyred! Our religion is insulted!" "It is the beginning of the extermination of the French in Siam!" "Quick! a gunboat to the rescue! How long will supine France allow her children thus to be sacrificed?" Meanwhile the holy father writes long and beautiful letters from his "prison," stating his readiness to receive the crown of martyrdom, and works himself and his brethren into a state of religious fervour absolutely uncalled for in this purely secular concern. The French Minister indignantly addresses the Siamese Foreign Office, and immediately receives, to the disappointment of the colonial expansionists, abject apologies, offers of indemnity, and promises to punish the offending official, and the affair is at last grudgingly allowed to drop after raising another howl of "Au Siam!" in French Indo-China.

Notwithstanding the anxiety and care of the Siamese Government, contretemps of this nature occurred so fre-

quently that, what with the continually increasing list of grievances caused thereby, and the impossibility of carrying out the provisions of the iniquitous treaty imposed upon her, disaster to Siam seemed to be impending, when, in 1896, some three years after the temporary settlement of her dispute with France, England entered into an agreement with the latter nation respecting the autonomy of Siam, which effectively baffled the plans of the French colonists.

This agreement between England and France, though the fact was hardly realized at the time of its signature, proved one of the severest checks to the ambitions of the Catholic missionaries in Siam which had been administered for many a long year, for not only did it remove from the Siamese the fear of France which had for so long deterred them from dealing firmly with the mission, but at the same time it enabled them to turn their attention for a time from foreign affairs, and to direct it towards the much-needed reform of their internal administration, curbing the power of the rural officials by a policy of centralization of authority, replacing the ignorant, and perhaps too often ill-disposed, country magnates by educated and reasonable men, and improving and opening up communications, so that a light of criticism was thrown upon the actions of the priests in the most distant parts, to which the holy men were entirely unused, and before which they found themselves constrained to act with a forbearance somewhat foreign to their traditions.

A new power was, in fact, now felt to be abroad in the land, and the Catholic mission, with its large and irregularly acquired property to defend, at once began to find its position changing. The Bishop, quickly judging the probable effect of passing events upon the fortunes of his mission, and foreseeing the inevitable decline of French influence with the removal of the fear on which it rested, now took up a more conciliatory attitude towards the Government, assuring it repeatedly that the mission had

nothing but the welfare of Siam at heart, and that, though recruited from France, it yet had nothing in common, and no dealings, with the French Government or Legation in Bangkok. These assurances it would have been more than difficult to believe in the light of past events, even had they not been entirely contradicted with amazing frequency by the actions of the priests who, less adroit than their leader in judging the signs of the times, continued to play entirely into the hands of their compatriots waiting on the other side of the frontier.

An excellent example of this stupid neglect of co-operation was furnished by the occurrence of a dispute between French protégés and some Siamese in a distant part of the kingdom, a garbled version of which had reached the French Legation in Bangkok. A joint inquiry into the matter was proposed by the Siamese, and, after some demur, agreed to by the other side, whereupon a young French official and a European legal officer in the employ of Siam were despatched up the river Ménam, each in his own steam-launch, to the scene of the trouble. On the evening of the first day out, the two boats arrived at a certain village where it was necessary that they should obtain fresh supplies of fuel. The monopoly of the sale of firewood for steamboats was held for this district, from the Government, by a certain Chinese Catholic, a very good friend of the priest at whose house the young consular official passed the night. Next morning the Chinese fuel-seller refused, under any conditions, to supply wood to the Siamese Government officer, but furnished it to the French friend of his priest, who thereupon steamed gaily away leaving his colleague in the inquiry quite unable to proceed, reached his destination, violently supported his people against their adversaries and browbeat the local officials, drew up for his Government a one-sided report entirely justifying the foreign protégés, and returned triumphantly to Bangkok, having successfully burked the inquiry at the very time when the Bishop was

trying to persuade the Siamese Government that no collusion, or, in fact, dealings of any sort, existed between the mission and the officers of the French Legation.

As the Government, relieved by the British agreement of its French incubus, recovered its equilibrium and grew stronger, the radical reforms which it undertook, with the aid of skilled European assistants, in the justice, police and revenue administration of the interior, brought to light many practices of extraordinary irregularity, which had for years been carried on unchecked by the priests. Thus, it was found that the Excise farmers, who purchased yearly from the Government the monopoly of the liquor traffic in the different districts, were obliged either to pay large sums in blackmail to the priests, or to suffer great loss in their trade through the competition of the illicit distilleries conducted by the Annamese Catholics. The reorganized police, no longer respecting the pretended right of these law-breakers to French protection, put a stop to this practice in many places by raiding and capturing the distilleries, under the leadership of European officers, whose inflexible honesty and determination carried them calmly through the concentrated musket-fire of the Catholics, the mere sight of whose guns had invariably put the agents of the law to flight in unregenerate days. Whole villages, which had for years successfully resisted the tax-collector, were now arrested for obeying the written notices, calling upon their followers to refuse payment of revenue, which the priests had caused to be circulated. Moreover, when haled before the courts of justice, these defaulters now found their sham French nationality of no use to them, and their priests unable any longer to control the magistrates, and thus to bring off their protégés.

The recurrence of incidents of this nature, terminating so unfortunately for them, soon opened the eyes of the French protégés to the fact that something was decidedly wrong with the French prestige, and that the Siamese Government was evidently feeling itself in a position to warrant

its ignoring the preposterous claims of France in the country ; they were not long in discovering also the reason of this change—namely, that the Siamese were no longer to be driven into acceding to absurd demands by the threats of the French colonials, which everybody now knew to be, by force of present circumstances, mere empty vapourings. In fact, it began now to be apparent that the Siamese Government was, after all, destined to be the paramount power in Siam, and with the full realization of this fact the power of the Catholic priests at once fell off greatly. Finding that the Government was strong enough to discriminate between *bonâ-fide* and make-believe foreign subjects, and that the latter no longer secured, by means of bribes to the priests and fees to the consulate, any immunity from revenue, military service, or subjection to the law, large numbers of the sham article now tore up their spurious papers, and returned to their proper allegiance, a movement which is still in full operation, infinitely to the advantage of the Government and to the discomfiture of those members of the Catholic mission who are so foolish as still to wish to see their institution a political power in the land.

Although much stress has been laid on the altogether inexcusable interference of the French mission with the politics of Siam, and on the amount of harm it has caused thereby, it is not intended to convey the idea that all its members have been, or now are, devoted to meddlesome intrigue to the entire neglect of their spiritual labours. There have been men among the missionaries who, through good and evil report, have pursued their sacred calling with unswerving devotion, living simple and brave lives among their people, and by their exhortation and example doing more good than could ever have been effected by the most successful of schemers; and, considering the inferiority of the class from which the mission is recruited, these upright and honest priests are now surprisingly numerous. These are the men, often unnoticed and never rewarded, who form the mainstay of the institution, and it is their presence alone

which permits the hope that some day the mission, cleansed from the unprincipled persons who degrade it, may yet become a credit to the nation which sends it forth. Since the time of the excellent Bishop Pallegoix the mission has increased greatly. There are now some fifty churches scattered through the kingdom, little wooden buildings usually, standing in the midst of the pigsties and cattle-sheds of their Chinese, Annamese and Cambodian supporters, while in the town of Bangkok there is a stately cathedral and three or more imposing brick churches, the spires of which are visible for miles around. Attached to the mission are schools and convents of all degrees, ranging from the "College of the Assumption," which offers a superior education to boys of all creeds, and which supplies the Government service with some of its best recruits, to the little class of jungle children, learning the alphabet in a tiny hut away among the palm-trees and the rice-fields. The staff of priests, European and Asiatic, is now a considerable one, and quite recently the old diocese has been divided, a new Vicar Apostolic having been appointed, to the northern, or Laos, provinces.

Here, one would suppose, is a sufficient field for all the energy of the missionaries. Here are men who have willingly left their homes for ever to carry their faith among what they call the heathen, and who daily pray for grace to follow truly the perfect example of patience and suffering set them by Him whom they serve. Surely to these, the ministering to the sick and the aged, the education of the young, the guiding of the lives of all their flock, and the task of gently persuading others into the right way, should suffice, rather than mischievous interference with the government of the country, causing disunion and strife between the people and their lawful rulers, amassing wealth by usury and other means distinctly opposed to all their teachings, and, in fact, promoting anything rather than peace on earth and good-will among men.

Unfortunately, however, such, as has been shown, was

by no means the case in the past, nor can it be said to be so at the present time ; for, though matters have certainly much improved during the last two or three years, incidents have occurred quite recently which show how deep a root the evil has taken in the country, and how much steady perseverance and inflexibly just administration will be necessary on the part of the Siamese Government before the Catholic priests can be induced to confine themselves to their legitimate labours, and the people convinced that the intentions of their rulers are to afford them every protection. Only a few months ago an Annamese Catholic priest was prosecuted, in the French Consular Court, for a cruel assault upon old men and women, and this man stated openly, the assurances of the Bishop to the contrary notwithstanding, that he had been authorized by the consulate to exercise a general supervision over all persons in his neighbourhood connected with the French by registration or otherwise.

At the beginning of this paper attention was drawn to the fact that the French Roman Catholic missions in the East have always appeared in the best light when carried on in a country ruled by a strong Government, able to curb the ambitions of the missionaries and to render of no avail the passion for intrigue under which so many of them seem to labour. There is no doubt that the Siamese Government has made great advances in strength and probity during the last half-dozen years, and one of the healthiest signs in the country at the present day is that the missionaries are now being slowly but surely pushed from the extraordinary position of power to which the recent troubles with France had brought them back across the proper boundaries of their sphere, within which alone they can be of such use to the community as to justify the existence of their mission in the country.



## ANGLO-INDIAN MINIATURISTS.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

IT is only in these latter days that we have begun to take an interest in the inner lives of Anglo-India, and even yet I do not know of any work which deals in detail with the connection between the art of our own country and that of our Anglo-Indian forefathers. It is a subject of great interest, however, for though Anglo-Indians in general in the past were men of action solely, there was yet a small section of them, professional artists, who, having obtained the East India Company's license to settle in India, remained to ply their art under the patronage of either the Company's servants or of the native Princes; and this succession of artists continued from very early days to our own time.

One of the very first of the English adventurers in India was an artist named Storie. He went with the two merchants, Ralph Fitch and Newbone, as well as the jeweller Leedes, on the celebrated expedition in the reign of Queen Elizabeth which started in 1583. The Portuguese seized them at Ormuz, however, and sent them to Goa, where they were imprisoned. However, the talents of Storie stood him in good stead, for afterwards he was released and became a member of the Jesuit College. He seems further to have conciliated the favour of his captors, for we read later that he unfrocked himself, married a Goanese girl, and was still employed painting in Jesuit churches without clerical molestation.

The next note I have of any connection between English painting and the art of the East is from a letter of William Edwards, dated Ajmere, March 14, 1614, to Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the East India Company:

"I presented the Mogul [Jehan Ghir] with y<sup>r</sup> Worship's picture, which he esteemed so well for the workmanship that the day after he sent for all his

painters in public to see the same, who did admire it and confessed that none of them could anything near imitate the same, which makes him prize it above all the rest and esteeme it for a Jewel."

It is possible that European art by this means, through the medium of this and other presents, may have to some degree really influenced the school of Mughal painters whose descendants continue to paint in Delhi, reproducing the types of their ancestors, and painting with no inconsiderable skill and decorative merit.

In the eighteenth century there began a continuous stream of English artists, who, going to the East to shake the pagoda-tree, came back—or in a few cases settled—when their coffers were well filled. They have left us many beautiful miniatures of the bygone great men, and a list of them is not uninteresting, very incomplete though it must of necessity be.

The first name which occurs to me is that of Baron Imhoff, which we all know from the life of Warren Hastings. He was a German who, having a taste for painting in miniature and a lean purse, went out as a cadet to Madras in 1769, and, "having painted all who chose to be painted at Madras," left for Bengal at the end of 1770. He quitted India early in 1773, but his wife, the beautiful Maria Apollonia von Chapuset, remained, and, the marriage being dissolved, married in 1777 the Governor-General Hastings. With her Ozias Humphrey has made us acquainted by his lovely portrait, which was engraved in 1841.

About 1770 the Court paintress of the late Queen Caroline arrived in India. She was Miss Catherine Read, whose personality is a very interesting one. The daughter of the Laird of Torbeg, and a follower of "the divine Rosalba," and afterwards Court portrait-painter (*vide* Horace Walpole), she was also the first Scottish lady artist of distinction. She sent home a portrait of "The Indian

Lady" to her relations in Scotland in 1775, and she mentions two fellow-artists in 1777, both at Calcutta, one Kettle, "a tolerable painter," and Paston, "an indifferent hand." Miss Read herself died at sea off Madras, December 13, 1778, on the voyage homeward. Her niece, Helena Beatson, Lady Oakley (died in 1839), also an artist, was in India with her, her husband, Sir Charles Oakley, being eventually Governor of Madras. Miss Read painted originally in oil, but afterwards her chief medium was pastel. Her paintings are fine, and her portraits, somewhat in the manner of Reynolds, pleasing, being of the beginning of the "Great Age."

The artist Kettle she mentioned was Tilly Kettle, who went to India in 1770. Among other Indian potentates he painted Mahomed Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot, and Sujah Dowlah, with the result that he too gained a fortune, with which he returned to Europe about seven years later. Losing his money, he again intended to return to India, but died at Aleppo in 1786 on his way thither.

Next in order, although not by profession a portrait-painter, comes Francis Swain Ward, of the Madras Civil Service, who came to India in 1773, and died in 1794. Some of his works are at the India Office.

Johann Zoffany, the portrait-painter, arrived in India late in 1783. He is said to have painted the portrait of Princess de Talleyrand, then Mme. Grand, now at the Baptist Mission at Serampore. And we know several of his large portraits and figure-groups, like "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match" (1786). He also acquired a handsome fortune, although in the East hardly seven years in all.

Charles Smith, an Orkney man, also went to India in 1783, and from 1789 resided in London under the style of "Painter to the Great Mogul." He died in 1824, after a successful career.'

Arthur William Devis was draughtsman to the East

India Company in 1782, and a portrait and figure-subject painter. He left India in 1795, surviving until 1796. And almost contemporary with him was William Hodges, who had accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage, and went afterwards to India in search for the "competent fortune." This being realized he left, and died in 1797. The Daniells, Thomas and William, an uncle and nephew, also were in India from 1784 to about 1795, but they are chiefly known by the landscapes engraved in their monumental "Oriental Scenery," whereas Samuel Daniell, brother of William, was certainly a figure as well as a landscape painter. He went to Ceylon in 1805, and died there in 1811. Associated with the Daniells was James Wales, who went to India in 1791, and died at Bombay in November, 1796.

We now come to the miniaturists proper, some of whom—the most distinguished of the new English school—made India their home for some years.

Ozias Humphrey, one of the most distinguished, went to India in 1785 at the age of forty-three. On landing at Calcutta he was advised to devote himself exclusively to "portraits in little." During his voyage to Calcutta he painted a very fine unfinished miniature (in 1891 in the possession of the Rev. James Beck) of Warren Hastings, whose friend he became. He painted at Calcutta, at Benares, Murshedabad, and in 1786 at the Court of Lucknow. He quitted India in 1788, his health having broken down, but left a vast quantity of beautiful portraits. He was a very rapid worker, and on the back of one miniature, the portrait of Hussein Viza Khan (the property, with four others all signed, of Dr. Aitchison, and now before me), is the note: " $\frac{1}{2}$  hour: 53 min.: an hour at his house."

Humphrey was followed by John Smart, who spent five years in India. He painted a miniature of the Marquis Cornwallis, now in Mr. Whitehead's collection, and added the letter "I" after his signature on the portraits which he

painted in India. Thomas Twining, in his journal, mentions a visit he paid in August, 1792, to the Nawab of the Carnatic, and that "Mr. Smart, a miniature-painter, who told me to my surprise that he had taken my mother's picture," was there taking the young Princes' likenesses. "They are to be sent when finished to Tippu Saib, for Lord Cornwallis having asked him if he would like to have his sons' pictures, 'Yes,' said he, 'provided they be accompanied by Lord Cornwallis's.'" With Smart was his son, John Smart junior, who remained in India, and died at Madras in 1809.

Besides George Willison, a Scottish painter who left London on account of want of success, made his fortune in India (he painted the Nawab Walajah in 1774), and, returning to Edinburgh, died there in 1797, there was the deaf and dumb artist Charles Shirreff, also a Scot, who, after a successful career at London and Bath, went to India; and he was followed by two members of the Irish Academy, George Chinnery, who "after fifty years in the East Indies" died at Macao in China in 1850, leaving many pleasing miniatures and portraits, some of which are engraved in Mr. Michie's recent book "An Englishman in China," and Walter Robertson, the Irish miniature-painter who, after going in 1793 to America with Gilbert Stuart, went to India, where he died. It seems probable also that George Place, another Irish miniaturist (1791-97), may be identified with the "George Place, miniature-painter," who died at Lucknow in 1805.

During the early half of the nineteenth century the works of the Anglo-Indian miniaturists decreased greatly in value. The East India Register gives the names of several painters. Those in Bengal were, in 1817: Lewis Contestabili, portrait-painter; F. Desbruais, "miniature-painter and cabinet-maker"; Robert Home (of whom afterwards); James Lock, miniature-painter; Thomas Morris, portrait-painter; J. Mosley, landscape-painter; John Shephard, painter; and J. Belnos, miniature-painter

of Serampore. The last lived until 1829 at least. I have one of his miniatures, flat and uninteresting, and by no means a satisfactory specimen of Anglo-Indian painting. It is no wonder, if all his successors were like Belnos, that Lord Auckland's sister, Miss Eden, who herself painted portraits, wrote in 1837: "There are hardly any artists, and none good, in Calcutta."

In 1817 the Register gives only one artist, J. Jukes, at Bombay, but an amateur miniaturist of talent, Mrs. Elder, a daughter of General James Welsh, himself an accomplished draughtsman, afterwards lived there. At Madras there were two—H. P. Rothmeyer, miniature-painter, and Thomas Hickey, portrait-painter. Can the last be identified in any way with the Irish painter of the same name who went to China with Lord Macartney's Embassy?

Only one of these painters can be mentioned at length, and that one is Robert Home, a pupil of Angelica Kauffmann, and brother to Sir Everard Home, Bart. He, like so many Indo-European miniaturists, exhibited first in Dublin, and went to India in 1789 or 1790. He first planted his studio at Calcutta, but afterwards became chief painter to Saadut Ali, King of Oudh, and his successor, and amassed a lot of money. In 1794 he published "Select Views in Mysore," and in 1796 "Views of Seringapatam," which show that his talents went beyond portraiture only. Miss Emma Roberts writes in 1835 that he "retired at an advanced age to spend the remainder of his days at Cawnpore, where he kept up a handsome establishment, and, until the loss of his daughter [one of his sons fell at Sobraon] and increasing infirmities rendered him averse to society, had been wont to exercise the most expensive hospitality to the residents of the station." He died about 1836.

Home's place at Oudh was filled by George D. Beechy, one of the sons of Sir William Beechy, R.A. He went to India in 1830, and speedily became Court Painter and Controller of the Household to the King of Oudh. He

exhibited in the Royal Academy at Somerset House in 1832 a portrait of "Hinda," an Indian lady whom he had married, which "attracted the attention of the best judges of the art." Miss Roberts mentions him also, and adds: "It is said—but whether on sufficient authority we are unable to state—that Asiatic prejudices had been so far remitted as to allow this gentleman access to the royal zenana for the purpose of taking the portrait of the favourite wife. Such an innovation cannot fail to produce very important results. . . ." Beechy is believed to have died before the revolt of 1857. He must have been the last of the great miniaturists in India, unless we include among them the Eurasian Charles Pote—a schoolmate of the Eurasian poet Derozio—who practised as an artist and miniature-painter in Dhurumtollah Street, Calcutta, until he became head-master of the Dacca Pogose School. He died at Dacca in 1859, the pictures remaining in his bungalow being then sold for Rs. 3,000. We are told that his miniatures were mostly unsigned, but that portraits of Lord Metcalfe and other worthies remain, and that the last of the miniaturists of India even made his mark, like the first Anglo-Indian artist, as a religious painter, his chief work being the altar-piece of the Armenian Church of Dacca.

## THE PELASGIANS: A NEW THEORY.

BY L. C. INNES.

It has generally been assumed that "Pelasgian" was a name borne by a distinct race. I propose to suggest that there is a probability that no separate race called itself or went by that name, but that it was an appellation given by successive waves of Indo-European immigrants to the older inhabitants, or to intruders on their borders, and was intended to express the alien relation in which they stood to them.

In investigations as to who the so-called Pelasgians were, and the quarter of the globe from which they arrived in Europe, nothing appears to be more certain than the absolute obscurity in which their origin is shrouded. This is the conclusion to which I had come before reading the articles, so replete with learned discussion of the subject, in the numbers of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1892, 1893, and 1894, and these articles have not displaced this conclusion. It may be gathered from the mass of information provided by these articles and from other sources, that the so-called Pelasgian tribes are never said to have called themselves Pelasgians. It seems to have been a name generally, though not always,\* given by conquering immigrant tribes to those who dwelt just beyond the borders of the territories in their occupation. Almost all we can learn about them is briefly comprised in the account given of them in histories of Greece and Rome. In a history of Greece by Dr. Smith it is said: "The Pelasgians are represented by the Greeks themselves to have been the most ancient inhabitants of their land. The primitive name of Greece is said to have been Pelasgia. In the historical period those parts of Greece which had

\* The Ligures, for instance, whose final habitat was the North-West of Italy, where their descendants are still, though a very ancient race, were never spoken of as Pelasgians.



been subject to the fewest changes of inhabitants were supposed to be peopled by the descendants of the Pelasgians. This was especially the case with Arcadia and Attica, which claimed to have been inhabited by the same tribes from time immemorial. The Pelasgians were spread over the Italian as well as the Grecian Peninsula. . . .” “The Pelasgians were divided into several tribes, such as the Hellenes, Leleges, Caucones and others. . . .” “In what respects the Hellenes were superior to the other tribes we do not know, but they appear at the first dawn of history as the dominant race in Greece. The rest of the Pelasgians disappeared before them or were incorporated with them.”\*

In a history of Rome by Dr. Liddell it is said: “It is certain that in primitive times the coasts and lower valleys of Italy were peopled by tribes that had crossed over from the opposite shores of Greece and Epirus; these tribes belonged to that ancient stock called the Pelasgians.” “The names that remained in Southern Italy were all of a Pelasgian or half Hellenic character. Such were in the heel of Italy the Daunians and Peucetians (reputed to be of Arcadian origin), the Messapians and Salentines; to the south of the gulf of Tarentum the Chaonians, who are also found in Epirus, and in the toe the Cœnotrians, who once gave their name to the whole of Southern Italy. Such were also the Siculians and other tribes along the coast from Etruria to Campania, who were driven out by the invading Oscan and Sabellian nations.”†

The Lacedæmonians and Athenians‡ are said by Herodotus to have been originally regarded as Pelasgians, and it is even said that the entire gathering of tribes arrayed against Troy were either at the period of the siege or previously Pelasgians;§ whereas at the later date or dates at which the story came to be celebrated in verse all these

\* Dr. Wm. Smith's "History of Greece," p. 14.

† Dr. Liddell's "History of Rome," p. 10.

‡ *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly*, 1892, vol. iii., p. 447, and *ibid.*, 1892, vol. iv., p. 171.

§ *Ibid.*, 1892, vol. iv., p. 471.

actors in the siege were regarded as Greeks. The colonists from Greece that settled in Italy in ancient times, and whom their neighbours called Pelasgians, are in like manner said to have coalesced or become incorporated with the inhabitants whose nationality they assumed.

The Athenians and Lacedæmonians, who afterwards became Hellenes, were at first spoken of by tribes on their frontier as Pelasgians. But Athenians in Strabo's time are said by Strabo to have spoken of others as Pelasgians, being, after the lapse of centuries of incorporation, oblivious of the fact that they had ever as a people been so called themselves. Some have supposed the name "Pelasgi" to mean "the further goers"—*i.e.*, the advanced emigrants, and have derived the name in a very far-fetched way from *πέραν εἶμι* (see the article by Professor Jebb in "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xi., p. 90), as the Athenians in the time of Strabo did from *πελαργοί*, "storks," in consequence of those who were called Pelasgians having resembled storks in their habit of wandering about before settling down.\*

The writers in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* 1892, 1893, and 1894, admit that the name was apparently a Greek appellation of foreigners or bordering tribes by which the tribes so-called did not call themselves, and for which they had no word in their own language.†

The name Vlachs and Wallachs is applied to the Latin-speaking races inhabiting Eastern Europe, and is identical in origin with "Welsh," meaning "foreigners." It represents a Slavonic application of a generic term applied by the Teutonic races, at the time of the migration of nations, to all Roman provincials. The German name for Italy is "Welschland" (Walischland). The people in the low countries are by the Germans called "Walloons,"‡ those

\* *Notes and Queries*, vol. January to June, 1870.

† *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1892, vol. iii., p. 451.

‡ These so-called Walloons are the true lineal representatives of the ancient Belgæ. See "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxiv., p. 332.

of the Tyrol the "Wallgau," etc; but the Vlachs call themselves Rumanî, "Romeni, or Romani."\*

The Saxons, in speaking of the mass of the inhabitants of Britain who had retired to the west and there concentrated themselves, styled them "Welsh," a term simply meaning "strangers," "foreigners."

This term, with its kindred words signifying "foreigners," has been referred to the Sanscrit word *Mlêchch*, a jabberer, or "Barbarian." This seems to be a name bestowed by that portion of the Aryan race which overspread India on all races whom they elected to consider non-Aryan, and to be expressive of the greatest contempt for them.† It is akin in form to the name *Milésian* given at some remote period by the then inhabitants of Ireland to a tribe of successful invaders. The name afterwards came to be applied to the inhabitants of Ireland generally.‡

In Spain and France we find certain contiguous provinces going by the name of Basque, and speaking a peculiar language. But the Basque language is called by the people not Basque, but *Escuera*; and into the names of the provinces, numbering three in Spain and two in France, the appellation Basque does not enter. It may be inferred that Basque was a name given by the immigrating tribes who found this people occupying, as is supposed, a large portion of Spain, and gradually hemmed them into the corner to which they are now confined.

It does not appear how the name Basque originated, but they were evidently an ancient people and early as colonists. They are supposed to have been connected with the *Ligures*, a people of Italy§ already mentioned (p. 113, note). The *Ligures* were never accorded the name of *Pelasgians*; but it seems not improbable that Basque

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xiii., p. 444.

† See Wilson's "Hindu Theatre," second edition, vol. i., p. 114, for the employment of this word in reference to the several peoples of the South of India. May it not also be the original of "*Belúch*"?

‡ See Isaac Taylor's "Words and Phrases," p. 42.

§ See Merivale's "Rome," p. 8.

is a corrupted form of "Pelasgos," and, according to my view, the assignment of this designation was independent of the question of race connection. The race called Basque\* is identified by the best ethnographical researches with that of the most ancient inhabitants of Britain and of several other countries of Europe; and having been in occupation of Spain long prior to other colonists, they may have proved an obstacle to the unobstructed settlement of the latter, and so have earned the name in much the same way as the earliest colonists of Greece earned it, as I suppose, from the later arrivals.

If it be the case that there is no evidence, and I cannot find any, that the Pelasgi ever called themselves by that name, then it seems not improbable that the word is simply a transmuted form of the word *Mléchch*, and that it was applied by Indo-European immigrating tribes to all inconvenient foreign tribes who were on their borders, or who came into unpleasant contact with them, and by whom they found their further progress obstructed. In process of time the original application of the word might disappear, and, like the Teutonic term "Welsh," meaning "foreign," and traced with a high degree of probability to *Mléchch*, it might eventually survive as the name of the particular people or peoples to whom it had been originally applied in the sense of "foreign." If there had ever been one separate race who called themselves Pelasgi, it seems unaccountable that such a people, calling themselves by that name, and appearing in so many localities of Europe, should have utterly disappeared, and that there is no known race within the areas in which they formerly lived which calls itself by the name, or by any other name into which that of Pelasgi might have become transmuted. On the other hand, all the historical, or rather legendary,

\* "The remains of a Neolithic race have been found in Belgium, France, Britain, Germany, and Denmark, as well as in Spain; but they have a closer resemblance to the Basques than to any other living peoples. This Neolithic race has, consequently, been identified with the Basques and Iberians."—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xii., p. 608.

information about them with which we are familiar fits in with the supposition that those tribes or races who were known by that name were simply so styled by other tribes, with whom many of the so-called Pelasgian tribes eventually united themselves politically and linguistically, and that on the incorporation of any Pelasgic tribes with the others who had so named them they ceased to be styled "Pelasgi," and became to all intents and purposes one in nationality with those other tribes.

Others again, it would seem, stood out, refrained from anything in the shape of coalescence with the intruders, and retained in the mouths of the intruders the name of Pelasgi or some other name into which that was transformed, as Basque, Welsh, Walisch, Vlach, etc.

The following table will show how easily the word *Mléchch* might become transformed into the many names given to peoples in Europe, and used to express the meaning "foreign" or "strange":

<i>Mléchch</i>	1. Beléch	Belach	Pelasg.
	2. Bléch	Blach	Vlach, Wallach.
	3. Viléch	Wiléch	Valësh, Valsch, Walsch, Welsh.
	4. Mlés	Milés	Milésian.
	5. Mléch	Belach	Belgæ.
	6. Blech	Blask	Basque.

This theory supposes that the word *Mléchch*, having been originally employed by the Aryan race in its strict meaning as a general expression of hatred and contempt of an alien, came afterwards to be applied in the same sense to bordering tribes, and that in process of time it was carried by tribes who had branched off from the same Aryan race, and whose language had become modified, to several distant parts of the world, where the word continued to be applied by them in various transmuted forms and softened meanings to strange and foreign races on their borders; and it is a remarkable fact that "Pelasgian," and the other names above referred to, are only found to occur along the course taken from Asia into and through Europe by the Indo-European races, and in no other part of the known world.

## SIAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA.\*

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES.)

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

## B.—LO-HU OR LO-HUK (LAVÔ OR LAHÔT).

## LOCATION.

THE only mention of *Lo-hu* to be met with in Ma Tuan-lin occurs in the chapter devoted to *Chou-mei-lin* (in the Wênchow dialect *Tsin-mi-lin*), which I take to be the same as *Tan-mei-lin* of other Chinese writers, and identify with *Ch'i-mi-hla*, *Tamila*, or Diamond Island and Bassein district, Ptolemy's *Tēnala*. *Lo-hu* (pronounced *Lo-huk* in Cantonese, and *Lo-vu* in the Wênchow dialect) is located by Ma Tuan-lin at twenty-five days' distance to the north-east of *Chou-mei-lin*.† This bearing is not very exact, as I already observed a couple of years ago in this Review,‡ but is fairly suitable, and still more so is the distance if taken—as seems but natural—as distance travelled overland. On the strength of all these indications, our identification of *Lo-hu* with *Lavô*, the present Lop'hburi (lying at some twenty-five miles to the north of Ayuthia, and on the same branch of the Mě-nam River), seems in every way justifiable.§ The more so will it appear when it be added that Khún Lúang Hāwat in his Memoirs|| tells us that in the old days that city was also called *Lahôt*,¶ a circumstance which still better justifies the Chinese transcription *Lo-hu*, and shows it to be phonetically correct.

## CHINESE RECORDS ABOUT LO-HU.

The mention of *Lo-hu* by Ma Tuan-lin, referred to above, occurs under the date 4th year of the period *Hsien-p'ing*, corresponding to 1001 A.D.,

\* For the previous portions of this paper, see our numbers for October, 1900, pp. 365-394; January, 1901, pp. 155-170; and April, 1901, pp. 379-385.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

‡ Issue of January, 1898, p. 157.

§ An identification already made public in this Review, *loc. cit.*

|| Siamese edition, p. 38. Khún Lúang Hāwat was the last King who reigned in Ayuthia but one. Gifted with a religious turn of mind, he abdicated in favour of his junior brother, and entered the Buddhist holy Orders. When Ayuthia was conquered and destroyed by the Burmese (A.D. 1767), he was taken to Burmā, where he wrote his valuable Memoirs, and ended his days some years afterwards, while still in the priesthood.

¶ Evidently a syncopation of *Lavakôta*—like the Indū *Lohkôt* and *Lāhor* are in respect to *Lohāvar*, the ancient capital of the Panjāb, said to have been founded by *Lava* or *Lo*, the son of Rāma. It is evident that the Siamese city was named after this Indian foundation of the son of the celebrated mythical hero Rāma, and that, like it, it was designated in different ways. *Lavô*, *Labô*, *Lo*, are but slight variations of the above forms. *Lop'hburi*, the vulgar local equivalent of *Lavapurī*, owes its origin to the fact that in Siamese and Khmēr alike Rāma's son *Lava* is usually termed *Lop'h*. With this evidence before us, we obtain at once a clue to the origin of the Chinese transcripts, *Lô*, *Lo-vu*, *Lo-huk*, *Lo-hok*, etc.

and is introduced in connection with an embassy which the State of *Chou-mei-lin* despatched to China. No instance of direct intercourse between *Lo-hu* and China appears to have been recorded in Chinese literature. As far as known to us, all that is said is that some time after the establishment of Chinese relations with *Ch'ih-tu* in A.D. 607-608, the country became split into two parts, bearing respectively the names of *Hsien* and *Lo-hu*; that the soil of *Hsien* was sterile and unsuitable for cultivation, while that of *Lo-hu* was flat and marshy, and yielded all sorts of agricultural produce; and that, finally, the inhabitants of *Lo-hu* used to contract marriages with those of *Hsien*.\*

The two sections of the country above referred to, we are next told, became re-united during the period *Chih Chêng* (A.D. 1341-1367) into a single kingdom, situated near the seashore.† According to the annals of the Ming dynasty *Hsien* and *Lo-hu* were conflicting States, and that of *Lo-hu* conquered the former—a revelation, by the way, in rude contrast with the hymeneal Arcadia alluded to above, unless history repeated itself in a new Roman-Sabine-like episode with similar far-reaching consequences—the amalgamated power bearing for some time the national name of *Hsien-Lo-hu*, afterwards contracted into *Hsien-lo*.‡ I have already given my reasons in this Review§ for my identification of *Hsien*—that is *Siem*—with the western and northern part of *Siām*, but I shall have to revert to its absorption by *Lo-hu*, and to the appellation taken by the unified State in the following pages. Meanwhile, I think it may be useful to introduce a summary of the principal facts that I have been able to gather from various local sources on the hitherto unknown history of the State of *Lavô*. They will give a faint idea of what occurred in *Siām* during what may be termed the “mysterious period”—seventh to thirteenth century, A.D. I must, however, warn the reader that the dates I assign to the various events are in some instances correct only within a few years, owing to the confused and often conflicting evidence supplied by the chronicles, and to the frequent errors of transcription which mar the MSS.

#### LOCAL RECORDS OF LAVÔ.

As already stated in the preceding section, the foundation of *Lavô* is ascribed in the northern annals to King *Kālavarna Tissa*, the same potentate who built *Dvārapurī*, and is placed in the Buddhist era year 1002 current, equivalent to A.D. 457.

A.D. 528.—*Rāmakirti Cakravartin* was reigning in *Lavô*; he acceded to the request that Princess *Cāmadevī*, the wife of his son the *uparāja*, should go and reign in *Lamp'hūñ*. She departed and did so accordingly.(c)||

A.D. 871.—*Vcchita Cakravartin* is driven out of *Lavô* by *Trābaka*, King

\* See De Rosny, *op. cit.*, p. 198; and also “San-tsai-tou-hoei,” Poissy, 1874, p. 5.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Mr. E. H. Parker in this Review for July, 1897, p. 115.

§ January, 1898, issue, pp. 149 and 156.

|| All the events marked like this (c) are extracted from the *Cāmadevivamsa*, a chronicle of *Lamp'hūñ* in the Pāli language, which I have recently brought to light.

of Lamp'hūñ, and Jivaka, King of Sri Dharmarāja (Ligor), who conjointly attack him, the former by land and the latter from the seaside. The King of Ligor reigns in Lavô, while the fugitive Vcchita marches upon Lamp'hūñ, and, having succeeded in cutting out of it its legitimate ruler Trābaka, reigns there. Trābaka, finding himself deprived of his kingdom, retraces his steps and comes down upon Lavô, where, having succeeded in dispossessing Jivaka, he settles down to reign. Thus Lamp'hūñ and Lavô mutually exchanged rulers.(c) This *chassé croisé* of crowned heads took place, according to other accounts, in A.D. 924. From that period dates, we may assume, the establishment of the first settlements of people of Thai race in Southern Siām.

A.D. 1002.—Inscription of King Sūryavarman I. of Kamboja in Lavô. This State remains for some time subject to Kamboja.

A.D. 1017-1047.—Between these two dates, but nearer to the latter, Dittarājā, King of Lamp'hūñ, makes an expedition against Lavô, and challenges its ruler to erect a chaitya, but is worsted, and compelled to retreat. P'hyā Rājaput, the son of the Lavô King, marches upon Lamp'hūñ, which he invests. Having sent in a challenge to the King of this city to dig a pond, and lost the competition, he withdraws. In the course of the next few years he sends two expeditions against Lamp'hūñ, but both are unsuccessful, the ultimate issue being that Lavô has to sue for peace, and pledge amity to Lamp'hūñ. The *entente cordiale* thus established leads to the development of trading relations between the two States, which continue very active.(c)

A.D. 1100-1126.—Between these two dates Southern Siām is conquered by an army from Lāos led on by Sudhamma-rājā, the chief of Mūang Hāng and founder of P'hiṣṇulōk. Prince Kesara Simha, the second son of this mighty chief, is wedded to Sundara-devi, the daughter of the overpowered King of Svankhalōk, and placed to reign over Lavô. Kesara Simha, in his turn, marries his daughter to Prince Duang Krieng Kṛiṣṇa (or Kṛiṣa) of Svankhalōk, whom he establishes to rule over *Sēnārāja-nagara*, a city situated at 500 *sens'* distance (about thirteen miles, bearing not stated) from Lavô, which he had just founded.\* With this successful inroad of the Lāu from the north, the Thai element in Southern Siām is greatly added to, and is fairly put on the way of gaining the ascendancy, which he will very soon attain.

A.D. 1150 *circa*.—The States of Lavô, *Śyāma-kūṭa*, and *Śyāma-kaka*, are mentioned in the inscriptions in the south-western gallery of Angkor-wat, their chiefs being represented in bas-relief as following in the train of the

\* No city of this name is known to have existed, either in the neighbourhood of Lavô or anywhere else in Southern Siām. Hence I think that the spelling has become corrupt in the course of repeated transcriptions. The city meant here must be *Nong Sanò*, the *Sola*, *Sanase*, or *Sarnau*-Marsh city, of which more anon. *Nong* (= marsh, pool, lake) is the equivalent, in local parlance, of the Sanskrit *hrada*; it is therefore quite possible that *Sēnārāja* is a clerical error for *Sanò-hrada*, *Sanau-hrada*, or something similar. It should, in fact, be borne in mind that the Siamese word may be read both as *Sēna* and *Sanau*, and that nothing is easier for an ignorant scribe than transforming the Chinese characters, but *Sēnà-raḥḥa* for *Sanò*- or *Sanau-raḥḥa* is another possible interpretation.



King of Kamboja.\* The Chinese statement as regards the division of the country into two parts, known respectively as *Syama* (*Siem*) and *Lavô* (*Lo-huh*), thus receives confirmation. We are, however, apprised here that there were two States bearing the name of *Syama*—to wit, one distinguished as *Syama-kūta* or *Syama-kūta*, which I have identified with South-western Siam, and the other styled *Syama-kaka*, which I take to be the north-western part of the country, and, practically, the kingdom of Sukhothai.

A.D. 1168.—*Candra-jyotis* (or *Candra-pradyota*) reigns in Lavô. The King of Burmā invests him in his capital, and only withdraws after having obtained his sister in marriage. This expedition is, in the "Northern Annals," credited to Anuruddha, but the period at which it appears to have taken place makes it clear that it must have been the work of some one of his successors. Its actual date may, however, be some twenty years earlier than the one we have assigned to it above.

A.D. 1181.—Nārāi (Nānāyara), son of Candra-jyotis, succeeds to the throne in Lavô. Shortly afterwards, however, he appears to fix his residence—perhaps only temporarily—at the city of Nong Sanô, on the eastern bank of the river opposite the island, where once stood Dvārapurī and Ayuthia arose later on. Here he is invested in his turn by a Burmo-Peguan army led on by King Narēs of Pagān, born of Candra-jyotis' sister. Besiegers and besieged agree upon settling the dispute by the usual pagoda-building competition. Victory was to belong to the party who succeeded in erecting one of such structures within the shortest time.† In fifteen

\* The inscriptions numbered 26th, 27th and 28th in Aymonier's list (*Journal Asiatique* for August-September, 1883), as well as the basso-relievo which they illustrate, are believed by Professor Bergaigne (*Journal Asiatique*, 1884) to be slightly anterior in date to the reign of Jayavarman VII. (A.D. 1162-1186). For further particulars see this Review for 1898, p. 146. It is interesting to observe that the name of the Lavô chief, as given in inscription 26, is *Vrah Kamratean* ("the Noble Lord" or "Prince") *Sri Jaya Simha-varman*, which is remarkably similar to that of King *Kes'ara Simha* of Lavô referred to above. This makes it evident that the chief named in the inscription, if not actually *Kes'ara-simha* himself, at least belongs to the *Simha* or *Simha-varman* dynasty—i.e., he is a descendant of his. This circumstance helps somewhat in confirming the date we have fixed for *Kes'ara-simha's* accession (between A.D. 1100-1126) in the preceding paragraph. It also demonstrates that shortly after the conquest of Southern Siām, effected by the chief of Miliang Hāng, Lavô again acknowledged—or was made to do so by force—Kamboja as the paramount power.

† This course was often resorted to by the Buddhist potentates of Indo-China in order to avoid the useless destruction of life entailed by war. The worst feature of it is, however, that it appears to have been in most instances unfairly carried out, trickery being usually employed on either side by erecting a sham structure of bamboos and wicker-work, covered over with mats, and neatly plastered and painted so as to look, when viewed from the opposite camp, every bit like the genuine article. Victory was thus secured by little exertion. The fundamental idea of this sort of competition was—in those happy days when intelligence departments were things undreamt of—that the party who succeeded in completing the structure before the other must be the more numerous and stronger; the uselessness of fighting against such heavy odds was thereby made evident. In the foregoing extracts from the Lamp'hūi chronicles we have met with an instance of a similar competition, in which the Lavô King is successful by resorting to the sham-structure trick. Here history repeats itself. And a third instance of such bloodless contests is recorded in the semi-historical literature of Pegu. This time, however, it is the Peguans—according to their own showing—who get the best of the Siamese

days the besiegers got up as far as the top of the bell-shaped part of the spire, and it only remained for them to build the pinnacle, when the Siamese, seeing they would have lost the match, completed their structure during the night with a bamboo frame-work decked over with white cloth. The stratagem had the effect of disheartening the enemy, who at once decamped.\* The Burmese King here referred to under the name of Nārāś must have been either Narathu, who reigned A.D. 1160-64, or Narabadi-tsi tsithu (Narapati Jayasura), whose reign is made to cover the period 1167-1204. As the latter is known to have made expeditions into the Malay Peninsula, where he founded Tavoy, it is probable that this attempt to conquer Southern Siam is his work. It having proved unsuccessful, it is naturally passed over in silence by the Burmese annalists. After his lucky escape, King Nārāś is stated to have gone over to Lavō to build a *sīlpa*, and to have changed the name of that city into *Lop'hburi* (Lavapuri). Henceforth, say the northern chronicles, that city "became an appanage for princes of the blood (*Luk-hiang*)." This shows, though not explicitly stated by the chronicles, that from that period, or shortly after it, the city ceased to be the capital (*nagara*), dwindling down to the

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at Maulmain by putting up the fictitious scaffolding. The spire, or *caitya*, which the Siamese, acting in good faith, erected thither of solid bricks and mortar, but could not complete, in spite of their efforts, within the prescribed time, may still be seen standing on a hill to the south-east of Maulmain. It was afterwards brought to completion by the Peguans, and called *Chyaik Sēm-lou*—i.e., the "spire of the worsted [lit. "destroyed"] Siamese." [N.B.—that *Sēm* means *Sama*, *Syama*, or *Syamese*, and is not to be absurdly spelled *Shan*, as the Burmese pronounce, and the advocates of Burmese "as she is spoke" delight to write.] The spire here alluded to is now the largest in Maulmain; it measures 152 feet in height and 377 in circumference. For an account of the circumstances that led to its erection the reader is referred to Haswell's "Grammatical Notes on the Peguan Language" (Rangoon, 1874, pp. xiii, xiv, Introduction), and also to the "List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archæological Interest in B. Burma" (Rangoon, 1892, p. 40), where, however, a mess is almost invariably made of dates, B.E. being throughout employed to denote both the Buddhist and the Burmese eras, so that one never knows which is the one intended by the compiler.

\* The spire left incomplete by the Burmo-Peguans was afterwards finished by the Siamese, and called *P'hū Khāu Thōng*. It may yet be seen, though in a dilapidated state, proudly rearing its towering head above the paddy fields and shrubbery in the north-west of the ancient Ayuthia. It must have been in its halcyon days a very imposing structure. It did not fail, in fact, to catch the attention of Kaempfer when he visited that old capital in 1690. This learned traveller not only gives a detailed description and a woodcut of the spire (Pl. IV.), but he also tells us the tradition current in the country about its foundation. These are the words with which he begins his account: "Elle [the *P'hū-Khāu Thōng* or "Golden Mountain" spire] fut dressée par les Siamois [in reality only completed by them], en mémoire d'une grande victoire qu'ils remportèrent dans le même lieu, sur le Roi de Pegu, et qui les affranchit du jong des Peguans. Ce monument, d'une structure massive, mais magnifique, et de plus de vingt brasses de hauteur, est placé dans un quarré ceint d'une muraille basse. Il est composé de deux pièces, posées l'une sur l'autre," etc., etc. (pp. 49 *seq.*). The foundation of *Wat P'hū-khāu Thōng* is indeed, in the "Annals of Ayuthia" (p. 26), ascribed to King Rāma-rājādhirāj, and put down in the sixth year of his reign (Culla Era 749=A.D. 1387); but evidently here it is simply a question of the building of the *wat* (monastery) annexed to the spire, and not of the erection of the historical spire itself, which must have been already standing thither, if the above accounts and traditions are at all worthy of credence.

rank of a provincial town (*pouri*), albeit an important one in that respect, because given over to govern to princes of the highest rank. It does not appear, however, that this change was actually effected by King Nārāi himself, because he is represented to have at that juncture suddenly fallen ill and departed this life, presumably before he could carry out his scheme. Notwithstanding the signal obscurity and reticence of the chronicles at this stage, it is legitimate to infer from the events narrated in the sequel that it is to King Nārāi's successor that the removal of the capital from Lavô to Nong Sanô is to be ascribed.

A.D. 1185.—On the death of King Nārāi, anarchy and civil wars followed, which lasted for two years. As many as nine of the most prominent dignitaries disputed for the crown, and blood flowed as high, according to the chronicles, that, "to put it metaphorically, it wetted (literally, it flooded) the elephants' bellies."

A.D. 1187.—The son of the late King succeeds at last in getting rid of his competitors, and has himself duly installed on the throne. He is variously referred to as *Maha Buddhasagara* and *P'hrah Chau Liang* (a mere title meaning "Supreme King"), *Srī Sagara*.\*

A.D. 1196.—He dedicates his residence as a Buddhist monastery, which becomes in consequence known as *Wat Wang Dom*, i.e., "Monastery of the former Royal Palace," and leaves [Lavô] proceeding downstream.†

A.D. 1198.—Mahā Buddhasāgara builds a new city to the east of, and near to, the island of *Nong Sanô* (the site of the ancient Dvārāvati, and of its future namesake, otherwise known as Ayuthia), which he makes his capital, establishing his residence at the lower end of it. This city

\* The "Northern Chronicles" would seem to make of this ruler two distinct persons, one bearing the name of *Buddhasāgara*, who "reigned near the island of *Nong Sanô*, and dedicated his palace as a temple, which became therefore known as *Wat Wang Dom*"; and the other, styled *P'hrah Chau Liang*, who "dedicated his palace as a temple called *Wat Wang Dom*, and proceeded down river to build a new city and royal residence," etc. It is evident—notwithstanding the fact that the two extracts here referred to appear widely apart and each in a separate context, that it is a question here of a single personage, the double allusion to and apparent discrepancy between the two accounts given of him being due to the already mentioned circumstance that the "Northern Chronicles" are but a rude mosaic of the surviving débris of older historical works slovenly put up together. Hence it is not surprising to see the same fragment appearing in duplicate in two different parts of the collection. As a matter of fact, I have come across an abridged narrative of the events told in the "Northern Chronicles," which makes of Mahā Buddhasāgara and P'hrah Chau Liang one single personage, whom it styles, as mentioned above, *P'hrah Chau Liang Srī Sāgara*. This, together with the arguments already adduced, definitely disposes, in my opinion, of the duality of that ruler, which forms a crux for the student striving to work his way through the intricate labyrinth of the "Northern Chronicles," made already so difficult by the unreliability of the chronological dates which constitute its would-be landmarks.

† It is evident that he left Lavô and no other place lower down river, and that *Wat Wang Dom* must have been situated at Lop'hburi. At this same city, in 1688, King Nārāi, when seized by the mortal illness to which he succumbed, is said to have also dedicated his royal residence as a Buddhist temple, in order to save those of his entourage who had remained faithful to him from the vengeance of the traitor who had then usurped the throne.

becomes henceforth known as *Müang Nong Sanó*.<sup>\*</sup> He starts to build *Wat Prôt-sat*, about three miles further down river, but dies (A.D. 1211) before the work is completed.

#### ABANDONMENT OF LAVÔ.

From this period no further mention of Lavô; or Lop'hburi, as a capital, or even as an existing city, appears in the ancient chronicles.† We simply hear of it as a district subject to Kamboja, and bound to send to its capital, Angkor Thom, once every three years a tribute of drinking water from the *Thalé C'hul-Son* ("Arrow-tempering Lake"),‡ until A.D. 1256,

<sup>\*</sup> *Nong Sano*, and not *Nong Sou*, as has been written and printed up to this day. The Siāmese word may, of course, by one uninitiated, be read *Son* as well, but if so it becomes meaningless. It is very curious to notice that this mistake has been committed not only by "griffins," but also by fairly ripe scholars; as an instance, I may point out that the place-name in question has been printed *Nongson* in Dr. Bradley's *Bangkok Calendar* for 1871, p. 81. The building of a new city bearing that name by King Mahā Buddhasāgara does in no wise affect our argument as to the existence on that site, or in its neighbourhood, and before that period, of a town identically named, which we have identified in a preceding page with *Sônūrāja*, *Sanau-hrada*, or *Sanau-raṭṭha*. The latter may have been destroyed during the interval, its name alone being left to survive, or it may have been still existing in a more or less dilapidated condition, and Mahā Buddhasāgara may have partially rebuilt it, and erected a new residence for himself within its precincts, it being the custom, on the accession of a new dynasty, to discard the buildings occupied by the former rulers, and also in some cases the royal city itself, in the event of its destinies having proved unlucky, and thereby earned for its site the reputation of being inauspicious. Whatever the real course of events may have been, however, the difference in dates between the foundation of the two *Nong Sano* cities is so small (only about eighty years), that it does not seriously affect the results of our inquiry, for which it suffices to establish, as we have done, that the city and kingdom named after the *Sano* Marsh rose into existence during the twelfth century A.D.

† In the "Chronicles of Ayuthia" (p. 21) we hear once more of Lop'hburi in A.D. 1350, when King Rāmādhīpati appointed his son, Rāmēśvara, to reign thither as vassal King. The latter held there his Court until 1382, the year in which he succeeded to the throne in Ayuthia (p. 24). After that date Lop'hburi becomes again deserted by royalty until A.D. 1661, when King Nārāi makes it his summer residence, and revives its ancient splendour. But once more it was proved by the events which followed that the city was doomed to never rise again as a seat for royalty. Nārāi, seized by mortal illness, ended his days there (1688), while revolution had broken out in his dominions. For the third time Lop'hburi was forsaken, and its sumptuous palaces left to crumble in the deadly embraces of the tropical lianas. The late King, Mahā Mongkut, with the forethought that distinguished him, had the old palace partly rebuilt, and several of the temples repaired, while His Majesty, the present enlightened ruler, decided to link the city by railway to Ayuthia and to the rest of the kingdom. The work is nearing completion, and in a few months hence the iron-horse will sweep past all that is left of the ancient city's glory, and will no doubt dispel the doom that has so long hung over it, making it once more the fashionable resort it deserves to be from both its interesting ruins and the many memorable and otherwise attractive sites in its neighbourhood.

‡ It has always been the custom among the nations of Indo-China to obtain the water for the King to drink, and for auspicious ceremonies connected with royalty, from some old renowned ponds or streams supposed to represent the five sacred rivers of India or their sources. Cyrus, Herodotus tells us (Bk. I., 188), would drink of no other water but that drawn from the river Choaspes, and had a constant supply of it carried to him in silver vessels wherever he went. The water from the *C'hul Son* Lake was, no doubt, credited with possessing invigorating properties. Invulnerability could perhaps be

when the son of the chief official in charge of the lake—and probably also of the whole district—who was of Thai race, shook off the Kambojan yoke, and became King in Sukhothai. This personage, because of his bearing the name of Rùang, is often called King Rùang in the chronicles, and confounded with his legendary namesake who reigned in Svankhalôk. In order to prevent such a confusion we shall, whenever referring to him in the course of this paper, designate him King Rùang II.

It is evident from the foregoing narrative that Lavô must have been reconquered and well-nigh entirely destroyed by the Khmērs in 1196. The fact of the King making over his palace to the priesthood—in order, no doubt, that it and its inmates might be spared in the general sack and slaughter that would inevitably follow—and of his abandoning the city altogether, establishing a new capital further down-stream, cannot be explained otherwise than by assuming that such a conquest took place. This may have been prompted by a desire to punish the Lavô King for some transgression, or in retaliation for some offence; in any case, like most conquests of that period, it was not enforced by a lasting occupation of the country. Once the primary object attained, and the country laid waste as if swept by a storm, it was left to take care of itself; and the imposition of a trifling tribute as a token of subjection was considered sufficient satisfaction for the conqueror's vanity.

#### RISE OF NONG SANO.

From the end of the twelfth century, therefore, *Lop'hburī*—or *Lavô*, as it continued to be called in spite of the modification introduced into its name—ceded the place of capital of Southern Siām to the city of Nong Sano, and Southern Siām became accordingly known as the Nong Sano State, in Siāmesese *Müang Nong Sano*. By foreigners, however, it was, for brevity's sake, usually referred to simply as the country or kingdom of *Sanô* or *Sanau*, and by them and the natives alike the old name *Lavô* was at times still applied to it, as this State was practically but a continuation, or revival, of the old *Lavô* kingdom, only with its capital removed to a new site.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE TERM.

The new appellation of *Sanô* or *Sanau* given to this State, however, deserves a few comments, as it is to it that many a queer name for Siām hitherto misinterpreted, or etymologically referred to a wrong source, is to be traced. First as to the origin and meaning of the term. *Nong Sano* signifies the "Sola Marsh," *Sola* or *Shola* being the Bengali name of the aquatic plant (*Æschynomene aspera*), from whose pith-like stems sun-hats (which are by an unconscious pun often styled "Solar" hats) are made. *Sanô* is at one time the Siāmesese and Khmēr equivalent for *Sola*, from which it is apparently derived, although both seem traceable to an older Indū form *Sanau* or *Sarnau*. Whether the marsh so named existed

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attained through the constant drinking of it. This old historical lake having in the course of time silted up, was re-excavated by order of King Nārāi of Ayuthia in about A.D. 1661.

on the island where stood the ancient Dvārāvati and afterwards Ayuthia arose, or whether it was instead to be found to the east of the island on the opposite bank of the river, is now next to impossible to ascertain owing to that marsh having disappeared through either silting, or being artificially filled up at the time of Ayuthia's palmy days. There are, indeed, several marshes still extant on the island, the largest of which being *Bīng P'hrah Ram*, so called from King Rāmādhīpati having been cremated there, but none is named after the *Sano* plant. Unless it was the P'hrah Rām Marsh itself which was so designated prior to that ruler's cremation, the Sanô Marsh must have been situated on the bank of the river facing the eastern side of the island. Truly, the "Northern Chronicles" tell us that when King V-thông (afterwards Rāmādhīpati) tarried on the river bank opposite the southern side of the island, and sent some of his followers across to explore it, this people had to work their way to the centre of the island through thickets of *Sano* plants. As, however, plants of this kind thrive in any moist place, and the territory both on the island and the surrounding mainland is of such a nature as to favour their growth almost anywhere, especially during the rainy and the high-water seasons, the above particular is no certain evidence as to the marsh in question being situated on the island. And as regards the island itself, it might have been named from the *Sano* Marsh equally as well, whether the marsh stood within its compass or on the mainland in front of it. Surely a marsh from which not only the island, but the city abreast of it and the whole surrounding district received their name, must have been pretty extensive in order to become distinguished over and above its numerous congeners scattered about the place. And yet local records do not help us one whit in determining its location; they are absolutely equivocal on this point. Some tell us that King Mahā Buddhasāgara set up his residence at *Nong Sano*, and others that he settled to the east and close to the island of *Nong Sano*. The "Annals of Ayuthia" (p. 3) say that King Rāmādhīpati I. selected the country (*pradēś*) of *Nong Sano* as the most suitable spot whither to establish his capital. Khūn Luang Ha-wat in his "Memoirs" (pp. 225-226) states that Ayuthia "stands on the island of *Nong Sano*," and so forth. Be that as it may, the important point for us in the present inquiry is that the designation *Nong Sano* came to be applied to the whole district, and gradually it became identified with the new State that had arisen, with its capital located in the neighbourhood of the mysterious marsh. It is apparently only after the foundation of such a town, whether it be the earlier *Sēnaraja*, *Sanau-hrada* or *Sanô-raṭṭha*, or the later *Nong Sano* city, that the term *Sano* in its various forms acquired such an extended sense and spread far and wide, which it is not known to have done at the time of the old *Dvarapuri*; and this is, of course, an argument in favour of the view that the marsh was not on the island, but on the opposite mainland, where the new capital was established. But setting aside for the nonce this moot point, about which discussion would be futile without further evidence at hand, and reverting to the subject concerning the period at which the term *Nong Sano*, or simply *Sano*, under its various forms, began to acquire notoriety through the founda-

tion of the new capital, and to be employed as a designation for Southern Siām, it is interesting to observe that it is exactly from that period—*i.e.*, from the end of the twelfth century—that the “Malay Annals” speak for the first time of Southern Siām under the name of *Shaher-al-Nawi*,\* whereas about one century earlier the same work designates the country simply *Siam*,† and so does a century and a half later and ever after, adding the remark that “in ancient times [it] was named *Seheri Navi*‡ [*Sheher- (or Shehr-) i-nau* ?].”

#### IDENTIFICATION OF SHAHR-I-NAO.

These two queer terms for Siām, *Shaher-al-Nawi* and *Seheri-Navi*, as well as the closely similar one, *Shahr-i-nao*, occurring in Abdur-razzāk's work,§ have not a little puzzled Oriental scholars. Colonel Yule, while approving of M. Quatremère's rendering of *Shahr-i-nao* as “New City,” has conjectured that this term may have originally applied to Lop'hburī, the name of which, he says, “appears to be a Sanskrit or Pali form, *Navapura*, meaning the same as *Shahr-i-nao* (New City).”|| Of course, the reader can now see for himself that both the above conjecture and proposed derivation are entirely wrong. *Navapura* has never been a name for Lop'hburī, which, we have seen, was instead termed *Lavō*, *Lahōt*, *Lavapurī*, or *Lohavar*. Truly, the name of the city has been, and still is at times, by local wiseacres and by the vulgar spelled *Nop'hburī*, and even pronounced *Nokburī*,¶ but these are mere degenerated forms of no long standing, and have nothing in common with *Shahr-i-nao* or *Sheher-i-nau*. Furthermore, Lop'hburī cannot on any account be called a “new city,” it being one of the oldest foundations in Siam, and at the time that the terms *Shahr-i-nao*, *Sheher-i-nau*, etc., appear, it did no longer exist, except as a heap of ruins and as an historical name for a city and kingdom which had passed

\* Leyden's “Malay Annals,” London, 1821, pp. 73 and 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 35.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ See Anderson's “English Intercourse with Siam,” p. 16.

|| “The Book of Ser Marco Polo,” quoted in the above, p. 17.

¶ The late King Mahā Mongkut has repeatedly animadverted upon the incorrect spelling *Nop'hburī* (*Navapurī*) and its still more reckless form *Nokburī* in several of his edicts. (See Siāmesé edition, “Edicts of the IV. Reign,” pp. 17 and 134, 135, t. i.) In the latter of these the learned monarch thus indignantly expresses himself: “The name of that city is most assuredly *Lop'hburī*, because it comes down to it from the town of *Lavō*; but nowadays the inmates of the temples, boasting of supereminent lore, elatedly write it *Nop'hburī*, making it mean ‘New City,’ or town of the nine planets, of the nine attributes, of the nine gems, or whatever else they may excogitate in their perservid imagination, which they allow to outrush like a swelled stream, or to career away like a frightened cat. Let it not be believed, let it not be written or called accordingly, but let the form *Lop'hburī* be employed as heretofore, both in speech and writing.” Colonel Yule has evidently been misled by the former arbitrary and silly orthography, and so has everyone who attempted after him to meddle with the name of that city. Last, but not least, *fra colanto senne*, comes that eminently eminent authority, the already quoted author of “Le Siam Ancien,” with his apodictic dictum (vol. i., p. 52): “*Navapura*—la ville neuve, Lophaburī, Louvō” [!]. It is to be observed, in connection with the last term, that *Lavō* and not *Louvō* is the correct spelling, *Louvō* simply being the form employed by the French envoys and missionaries to Siām in the seventeenth century.

by. All the above theories, however ingenious, fall consequently to the ground, and it follows quite plainly that the terms referred to can apply to but one place, namely, the city or State of Nōng Sanō. It is, however, not in the least necessary to ascribe the meaning of "New City" to *Shahr-i-nao* and its correlated terms. Anyone can see that they are (more likely than not) but slightly altered forms of *Sanō* or *Sanau*, and represent the manner in which foreign merchants from Malayā, Southern India, and other Oriental nations whose languages delight in the *r* sound, pronounced that toponymic. To give but an instance, in some parts of India *Sanō* (the Siamese form of the name for the *Sola* plant) becomes *Sarnali*,\* and I have scarcely any doubt that in some of the Indū dialects that plant is designated by terms not widely differing from *Sarnau* or *Sarnao*. Of course, it may be objected that Abdur-razzāk's *Shahr-i-nao* appears at as late a period as the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the city of Nōng Sanō had already been superseded as capital of the kingdom by the neighbouring Ayuthia. But such objection can scarcely be held to be a serious one, and may be at once dismissed with the reply that Ayuthia was founded just abreast of Nōng Sanō city, and on an island named, like the latter, from the marsh so designated; that, besides, the term Nōng Sanō, or simply *Sanō*, had already been extended and applied to the surrounding country and to the whole kingdom; and that, although the new capital had been differently named, it and the kingdom must have long been designated after the old style. It is thus that we find, even as late as the sixteenth century, the forms *Sarnau*, *Sornau*, and *Xarnauz* used by the Western navigators, who were in this but re-echoing what they heard from the natives in India, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. Toponymics and their modified forms, once they have spread far and wide and become rooted into the people's jargon, die hard; hence it is not until much later on that we find the terms *Shar-i-nao*, *Sarnau*, etc., finally displaced by those of *Sian*, *Sion* (Siāo), *Sian*, etc., which are derived from *Syama*, an old name for the country, or part of it at least, and have no connection whatever with the former.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF HSIEN-LO-HU.

When examining in the light of the foregoing evidence the term *Hsien-lo*, which the Chinese began to use as a designation for Siām since about the

\* This term is given under the form "Sarnalee" for *Æschynomene Indica*—which, I believe, must be a mere variety of *Æ. aspera* and *Æ. paludosa*, both called *Sola* in Hindustāni and Bengali—in Watson's "Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian Plants," etc., London, 1868, p. 504, *s.v.*, as being taken from Jameson's "Report," p. 115. It would be highly interesting to learn which are the names for this plant in other modern and ancient languages of India, especially Sanskrit, Pāli, Telugu, etc. In Pāli, I am informed by local scholars, it is called *Maduka-rukha* or *Lahuka-rukha*; but these are mere connotative terms, expressing the qualities, either of softness or lightness, of the ligneous parts of that plant, like the Malay *Kayu-kok*, the Annamese *Kai Dieng-dieng*, etc. What we want are the specific names. The Khmēr term for the *Sola* plant is, as we have seen, *Sanō*, the same as in Siāmese; the Mōñ one is *Kaloi*, which is quite different. It ensues, therefore, that the Siāmo-Khmēr *Sanō* is not an indigenous word, but must have been originally imported from India, being undoubtedly connected with *Sarnali* and congener terms.



middle of the fourteenth century, one is tempted to connect it with the forms *Sanō*, *Shahr-i-nao*, *Sheher-i-nawi*. I shall not go so far as to assert that such a connection exists, for *Hsien* is but one of the modern Chinese forms of pronouncing a character read *Siam*, *Siem*, *Sien*, and *Sim* in the older dialects, while *Siem* and *Sēm* are respectively the Khmēr as well as Lau and the Mōñ modified designations for Siām. But it seems to me that there are visible traces of a certain amount of influence having been exerted by the parallel terms *Sanō*, etc., upon the original compositum *Hsien-Lo-hu*, leading to the apocope of the last syllable, and making it thereby closely similar to *Sanō* itself, *Sarnau*, etc., phonetically. There is, in fact, not much difference between the two when it be borne in mind that final *r* often becomes *n* in Chinese, while initial *l* and *n* are, as a rule, interchangeable in the various dialects of that language, wherefore *Siar-no*, *Sar-nau* = *Sien-no*, *Sien-lo*. I do not deem it necessary, however, to insist any further upon this apparent etymological connection; I merely desired to call attention to it as a possible reason for the transition of *Hsien-Lo-hu* into *Hsien-lo*, or otherwise of its application in the early days to *Sarnau*, i.e., the State of *Nōng Sanō*, in Southern Siām, rather than to the kingdom of Sukhothai in the northern part of the country.

According to the Chinese records, Siām first appeared at Court under the name of *Hsien-Lo-hu* or *Siem-Lo-huk* in the fourth year of the period Hung Wu, corresponding to A.D. 1371. The country was not called *Hsien-lo* until the first year of the period Yung-lê, i.e., A.D. 1403.\* Previous to the *Chih Chêng* period (A.D. 1341) it was divided into the two States of *Hsien* and *Lo-hu*. Of these *Hsien* alone appears to have entertained relations with China since the middle at least of the thirteenth century, its last two missions recorded being those of 1297 and 1299. Although Sukhothai had at this period under its domination the whole of Siam and the upper two-thirds at least of the Malay Peninsula just rescued from Kambojan subjection, *Sarnao* or *Sarnō*—i.e., Southern Siām—continued as a kingdom, whose rulers were, no doubt, nominal vassals of Sukhothai, to the emancipation of which from the Khmēr yoke they had very likely contributed. And, as will be seen in due course, this southern kingdom of *Sanō*—also known by the alternative traditional name *Lavō* it had inherited from the State, of which it was practically the historical continuation—despatched, according to local records, several missions to China, but whether in the name and on behalf of its suzerain of Sukhothai or with the latter's sanction and concurrence, or whether of its own initiative, it is not clear. Given that the Chinese records of the period were full—which it does not appear, especially for the portion devoted to foreign relations—it would be easy, from no word being therein said about intercourse with *Lo-hu*, to conclude that the missions stated in the local chronicles as having been sent by this State (*Lavō*) were instead despatched on behalf and at the bidding of Sukhothai, and were consequently recog-

\* See G. Phillips' remarks in the *Journal, China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi., p. 34, footnote, for these dates, the first of which, however, I have corrected by taking off one year, as the period *Hung Wu* is now acknowledged to have commenced in 1368.

nised by the Chinese Court as coming from *Hsien*, which is the designation whereby the Sukhothai kingdom became known to the Chinese at this time. But in the absence of more definite information, it seems natural to assume that both the States referred to sent envoys to Court, and that whereas the homages of *Hsien* were duly recorded, those presented by *Lo-hu* somehow escaped mention.

At any event, it is pretty well certain that the *Hsien* and *Lo-hu* of this period correspond respectively to the Sukhothai kingdom or Siam's paramount power for the time being and to the subordinate State of Lavô, *alias* *Sanô* or *Sornau*. The latter, however, has no more to do with the *Lavêk*, wherewith it has been recklessly identified, than the former has with the *Ch'ih-mei* or "Red Eyebrows" Rebels, with whom it and its people have in a no less slipshod manner been connected by the Chinese cyclopedists and others of that ilk.\* Thus far, then, local records can be made to agree with those on the Celestial side, and a like concordance may again be established during the period *Chih Chêng* (A.D. 1341-1368), in the course of which *Lo-hu* is represented to have conquered *Hsien*. We shall demonstrate in the sequel that it was the *Lavô*, *alias* *Sanô* or *Sarnau*, State, of which King Rāmādhīpati I. had made himself the master on or shortly before A.D. 1350, and wherein he had founded at the last-named date his new capital Ayuthia, that subdued Sukhothai and all the territory dependent on it, thus blossoming forth into a renovated and greater *Sanô* kingdom, which, notwithstanding its being styled the kingdom of *Davarat*

\* It was Colonel Yule, I understand, who first suggested the identification of Marco Polo's *Lochac* with *Lavêk*, and of this latter with the Chinese *Lo-hu* and the Siamese *Lavô* (believed by him to be *Navapura*—*Shahr-i-nao*). Others have followed suite and attempted to saddle *Lo-yüeh* as well on *Lavô*. (See Phillips in *Journal, China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi., p. 34, footnote.) For the untenability of these identifications and the true equivalents of the above toponymics, see my remarks in this Review, January, 1898, pp. 156, 157.

The absurd statement that the *Hsien* or *Siem*—i.e., the population of Siam—are descended from the *Ch'ih-mei* or "Red Eyebrows" Rebels, who in A.D. 25 overthrew the Han Dynasty, appears to have been first concocted by the compilers of the *Ming-yi t'ung-chih*, the Great Geography of the Ming Dynasty, a comparatively modern work. Mr. Léon de Rosny is one of the warmest endorsers of this slipshod theory, which he delights to quote wherever he prattles about Siam and the Siamese. It needs but little muster of arguments to completely explode it. The *Ch'ih-mei* could not be the Mōñ-Khmēr people of the State of *Syama-rastra*—i.e., the *Hsien* or *Siem* proper—because they were not finally crushed until about A.D. 30, at which date the State just mentioned must have been already in existence, since it is recorded under the name *Samarat* by Ptolemy a century later, from information collected undoubtedly at a much earlier period. On the other hand, the *Ch'ih-mei* could not be populations of *Thai* race, since the forbears of this race are known from the Chinese records themselves to have been in occupation of Southern Yünnan and Northern Indo-China from the beginning at least of the Christian era, and to have attacked the southern borders of the then as yet diminutive Chinese Empire several times before A.D. 47. Even admitting that some of the remnants of the dispersed "Red Eyebrows" bands attempted to cross those borders in order to take refuge in Yünnan, they would have been egregiously stopped by the *Thai* populations referred to. The statement as regards the *Ch'ih-mei* having been the progenitors of the *Siem* must therefore be ranked on a par with the "Red Earth" theory and other historical and philological absurdities and puerilities which form so exhilarating a feature of Chinese literature.

or *Śrī Ayuddhya* after its newly-founded capital, and kingdom of *Syama* or *Siām* after the designation borne from times immemorial by the country it subjected both to the north and west, continued by the vulgar, and especially by foreigners, to be termed as heretofore, the kingdom of *Sanô*, *Sanau*, *Sornau*, or *Shahr-i-nao*.

Such being the state of facts, is it possible to believe that this new kingdom would represent itself to the Chinese Court under the name *Siem-Lo-hu* (*Sie-Lo-vu* in the Wên-chou dialect), meaning, of course, *Syama-Lava* or *Syam-Lavô*? Why place the name of the conquered State *Siem* before the conquering one? To a certain extent this would seem justifiable, from the fact of *Siām* being the old name for more than one part of the country, and withal the designation by which the but recently overthrown Sukhothai kingdom had become known to the Chinese, whereas *Lo-hu* (alias *Sanô*) was a newly-formed State as yet scarcely known to them. But does it not seem more logical to infer that the Chinese, having learned of the unification of the two States *Siem* and *Lo-hu* and at the same time of the new name *Sanô*, *Sanau*, or *Sornau*, of the kingdom and site where the capital of the amalgamated power had been founded, they took this name *Sornau*, *Shahr-i-nao*, as they would hear it pronounced by aliens, and *Senno*, *Sen-lou*, *Sien-lou*, or something to that effect, as they would pronounce it themselves, as a toponymic sprung out of the union of the two terms *Siem* and *Lo-hu*, and that in the course of time, having become aware of the manner it was spelled locally, they shortened their *Siem-Lo-hu* or *Siem-lou* into *Sien-lo*, in order to bring it in better agreement with *Sanô*?

One thing is certain, at any event, and this is, that in the earliest official communications from the Kings of Ayuthia reported in the Chinese histories, the ruler is styled King of "*Ma-hu-luk-k'un Yu-t'i-ya*" (*Mahānagara Ayuddhyā*), and no such name as *Siem-Lo-hu* or *Siem-lo* occurs. This circumstance makes it evident that these terms must have been contrived by the Chinese themselves, in order to represent the forms *Shahr-i-nao*, *Sornau*, then widely employed throughout the East to designate Siam, or if not, in order to denote for their own purpose the power which arose from the union of the two States formerly severally known to them as *Siem* and *Lo-hu*.

Whichever of these two surmises be the correct one, I am unable to say definitely, but I am confident that time and further research will bring about the solution not only of this but of other puzzling questions which I have posed. To this desirable dénouement should in no small measure contribute an exhaustive search and collection of all that is said in Chinese literature about those two States, and more particularly about *Lo-hu*, concerning which whatever has hitherto been made known is very little indeed.

## C.—P'AN-P'AN OR BAN-BAN (P'HAN-P'HŪM).

## POSITION.

"This kingdom occupies the north of a great island ['Malay Peninsula'], separated from *Lin-i* [Campā] by a little sea. It takes forty days' sailing from Chiao-chou [Tonkin] to reach it."\* It is situated to the south of *To-ho-lo* [Dvārapurī], with which it is conterminous. [In other words, its northern frontiers touch the southern borders of *To-ho-lo*.]†

To its south-east lies *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo* [*Kola* or *Kolī-badara*, now Kalantan].‡

It is near [or contiguous] to the kingdom of *Lang-ya-hsiu* [C'hump'hōn].§

Kaunḍīnya, a Brāhman from India, having been notified by an oracle that he was called to reign upon *Fu-nan* [Kamboja], proceeded south [from Eastern India] until he reached the country of *P'an-p'an*, whither a deputation from the people of *Fu-nan* came to meet him, and proclaimed him King. This occurred in about A.D. 420-450.||

## IDENTIFICATION OF P'AN-P'AN.

From the above extracts it ensues quite clearly that the position of *P'an-p'an* must have been in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, bordering upon the Gulf of Siām, at a point where overland communication was practicable with the Bay of Bengal. Therefore, we locate this State around the north-western corner of the Gulf of Siām, identifying it with the old kingdom that had its capital in the neighbourhood of the P'hrah Banthom spire, and at times at *P'hanthum-burī*, called later on *Sup'han*. This kingdom embraced the territory from the Thā Chīn River in the east, to the present *P'hetchaburī* (Vajrapurī) on the south-west. Communication has always existed overland between that region and the sea-board of the Bay of Bengal at Tavoy and Martaban. Many places bearing names similar to *P'an-p'an* exist within its compass. We have, beginning from the south, *Prān*—or, as it would be called in the then (Mōñ-Khmēr) language of the country, *P'hūm-Prān*—further north, at the head of the gulf, *Bāng-Kabūn* or *Bāng-Būn*, a creek and village above the mouth of the P'hetchaburī River; *Bān-P'hān*¶ (then, perhaps, *P'hūm P'hān*) on the Mē-Klōng River, not far above its present mouth; and, finally, *P'hān-phūm* or *Sp'hān-phūm*, a place of some importance on the Thā Chīn River, now no more extant, but noted in a native map of some 120 days ago, which I had occasion to examine. One of the terms of the compound *P'an-p'an* presumably represents either *P'hūm* (bhūm, bhūmī), the Khmēr word for a village, or *P'ām Pāñ*, which are, respectively, the Khmēr and Mōñ words for "mouth" and "confluence" of streams occurring in a great number of place-names. The local equivalent for *P'an-p'an* may thus be either *P'hūm-p'hān*, *P'hūm-p'ām*, *P'hān-p'hūm*

\* Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

† *Ibid.*, p. 529.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

§ De Rosny, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

|| Ma Tuan-lin, pp. 439, 440.

¶ The term *P'hān* in this place-name means a "tray" or "dish," and thus corresponds in both sound and meaning to the Chinese character forming, twice repeated, the name of the State of *P'an-P'an*.

(Bān-bhūm), or something like, as the two Chinese characters wherewith it is written are severally pronounced *P'un-pun*, *Ban-ban*, *Pwang-pwang*, in the various dialects, and appear to have had of old the sound *Buon-buon*. Until a definitive identification is brought forward, I preferentially hold on to *P'hūn-p'hūm*, on the Thā Chīn (meaning Chinese landing-place or harbour) River, which may have been the point where the Chinese junks used to call in the old days, and after which the Chinese designated the kingdom or district adjoining. It is, of course, known that such was very often the case with navigators, whether from the east or west: the name of the first port they became acquainted with determined—for them—the name of the country. In any case *P'an-p'an* must not have been far away from the sea, as Ma Tuan-lin tells us that the people of that district chiefly inhabited the sea-board. In fixing its location, it must be borne in mind that fourteen centuries ago, the period at which Chinese relations with *P'an-p'an* commenced, the sea penetrated many miles further up the Mênām Delta than it does at present.

Groeneveldt thought *P'an-p'an* to be *P'hun-phin* (which he carelessly spells *Pun-pin*), the former seat of government for the C'haiyā (Jayā) District (since removed to *Bān P'hūmariēng*); but it will be seen that this place is too far down the peninsula to agree with the topographic data given above. De Rosny's fanciful location assigned to *P'an-p'an*, by the side of *Lang-ya-hsiu*, on the coast of Kamboja,\* obviously becomes untenable after our demonstration of the true position of *Lang-ya-hsiu*.

As the northern borders of *P'an-p'an* touched the southern frontier of *To-ho-lo* (Dvārāvati), and as, further, *P'an-p'an* was contiguous to *Lang-ya-hsiu*, it will be seen that no location can be found for that district other than the one we have adopted—namely, at the head of the Gulf of Siām, north-western corner. Its territory could not very well extend across the Malay Peninsula as far as the shore of the Bay of Bengal, since this was, as we have demonstrated, ground belonging to the kingdom of *Lang-ya-hsiu*.

#### THE KING AND COURT.

These topographical details settled, we shall now proceed, under the escort of Ma Tuan-lin, to investigate the details of that country. "The kingdom of *P'an-p'an*," this author states,† "entered into relations with China at the time of the Liang" [A.D. 502-507]. Here follow the topographical data already referred to. "Its King is [*i.e.*, was then] called *Yang Li-ch'ih* [Añ Riddhi];‡ his father bore the name of *Yang Tê-wu-lien* [Añ Dēvarañña], Dēvarin or Tivarin. The tradition does not go any further back.

\* *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 462.

‡ The tentative renderings given here are mine. *Yang* undoubtedly represents either the Siāmesé *Ong* (Sanskrit *Anga*), or the Khmēr *Añ*, *Añña*, both used as prefixes to names of Kings, Princes, etc., as, for instance, in *Kamrateng Añ*, etc. I have preferred the form *Añ*, which occurs in the old Khmēr inscriptions; but I think that the form *Ong*, used in Siām Pegu, and Burma [in which latter place it becomes *Aung* rendered by the character (*yung*, *ung*, *ong*) by the Chinese], is no less old. It occurs as a prefix to the names of the Kings of *T'an* and *P'iao*, in A.D. 97 and 802 respectively. (See Ma Tuan-lin, *op. cit.*, p. 232, note 21, and p. 268, note 2).

The people live chiefly about the sea-shore. These barbarians know not how to build defensive walls; they remain content with erecting stockades.

The King is wont to lounge upon a gilt couch shaped like a dragon. The dignitaries of his entourage attend in a kneeling posture in front of him, the body erect, and the arms crossed in such a manner that the hands rest upon the shoulders. At his Court may be seen many Brāhmins, who have come from India in order to profit by his munificence; they are all in great favour with him.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

The Ministers and principal officials bear the names [or titles] of:

1. *P'o Lang-so-lan* [Bā Rāmēs'vara (or Rāmēsuran)].\*
2. *K'un-lun Tē-ye* [Guru Tējo (Tejas)].
3. *K'un-lun P'o-ho, P'o-hai, or Po-kan* (Guru Bāhu, or Vāhana?).
4. *K'un-lun P'o-ti-so-han* [Guru Bhattisakkāra (Bhaktisarkāra)].†

The natives indifferently pronounce *K'un-lun* or *Ku-lung*, so that *Ku-lung* is sometimes written instead of *Kun-lun*.

The provinces are governed by officials bearing the title of *No-yen* or *Na-yen* [Nāi, Nāirs], who approximately correspond to our *Tz'ü-shih* and *Hsien-ling*.‡

#### WEAPONS.

The arrows employed in the kingdom of *P'an-p'an* are tipped with heads made of a very hard stone; spears are fitted with blades sharpened on their double cutting edges.§

\* *P'o* here evidently represents the Khmēr *Bā* (Master, Chief), of which we have found an instance at page 14 *supra*. It may be, though more doubtfully, the present Siāinese *P'hrāh* (Khmēr *Prāa*, and Chām *Pō, Pu* = Lord, Prince).

† Ma Tuan-lin here makes a confusion between several different terms, through ignorance of the language of the country. *Ku-lung*, an epithet used by him in the case of the King of *Fu-nan*, is the Mōñ-Khmēr word *Krung*, meaning King, kingdom, as in *Krung P'han*, the name of the leprous King of Kamboja. *K'un-lun* stands instead for *Kula, Kōla, Kollam*, the name of the pioneer Malabar settlers in the peninsula and archipelago, and became afterwards the name for the *Java* race, now equally incorrectly called Malays, from those same *Kulas* or *Kolas*, who came from Malaya or Malaya-vāra, i.e., Malabār, and gave the first name to the archipelago.

But in the present instance *K'un-lun* presumably stands for *Guru*, although it strikingly resembles the present Siāinese title *Khūn Liang*, and the correlative form of address *Khun Liang* (*Gun Liang*), in which latter *Khun* is the local form of pronunciation of the Sanskrit and Pāli *Guṇa*. It is evident that the Thai words *Khūn* and *Liang* (derived from Chinese, as I have shown in this Review, January 1898, p. 153) could not be known and employed in Southern Siām at so early a date. There is a Khmēr term *Klōn*—which has since passed into Siāinese as *Khloñ*—used in the old inscriptions of Kamboja, apparently in the sense of "chief" (see Aymonier's "Inscriptions en vieux Khmēr," p. 33), whereas it is now only applied to female chiefs; but I have my doubts whether this is meant here by the word *K'un-lun*. In conclusion, I prefer, until a better equivalent is suggested, to render in the present instance *K'un-lun* by *Guru*.

‡ The translator in a note (p. 463) says that the Chinese officials so named have been compared to the *préfets* and *sous-préfets* of the French provinces and districts. *Chih-fu* and *Chih-hsien* now designate, respectively, the Prefect and the District Magistrate.

§ This statement shows that stone implements—arrow-heads, at any rate—were used until at least the fifth century A.D. in Siām and the Malay Peninsula, iron being still

## RELIGIONS.

There exist in this country ten monasteries of monks and nuns who study the Buddhist sacred books; they use meat for food, but do not drink wine.

There is also a monastery of *Tao-ssü*. The rule of these religious men is more strict; they equally abstain from both meat and wine.\* Their books are those of the *A-hsiu-lo-wang*.† They are neither very esteemed nor highly respected.

The monks are usually termed *Bhikṣu*, while the *Tao-ssü* are given the name of *T'an* [Danḍis].

## INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA.

During the periods of *Yüan-chia* (A.D. 424-453), *Hsiao-chien* (454-456) and *Ta-ming* (457-464), of the Sung dynasty, the King of *P'an-p'an* regularly offered tribute.

[The P'ei-wên Yün-fu states: "In the second year of *Hsiao-chien* (A.D. 455) the State of *P'an-p'an* sent an envoy for audience, and to offer tribute."‡]

Under the Liang in the first year of *Ta-t'ung* (A.D. 527), and also in the fourth year of the same period (A.D. 530), *P'an-p'an* again sent ambassadors, who offered amongst other things a Buddha's tooth, little painted spires, and various perfumes. [The P'ei-wên Yün-fu places this same embassy in the first year of *Chung-Ta-tung*—i.e., A.D. 529—and says: "The State of

sparingly employed. The view that iron did not become known to the populations of Indo-China until shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era would thus receive further support. Up to this day certain uncivilized tribes of that region—the pure *Sakai* of Pahang and Pêrak in the Malay Peninsula, for instance—are still unacquainted with the art of fusing and working metals.

\* The translator takes these religious men to be Taoist sectaries, but such a view is inadmissible. The Chinese ambassadors to *Chên-la* (Kamboja) in A.D. 1295 also speak of *Tao-ssü* devotees—who, they say, were there called *Pao-ssü*—as being established in that country. These latter dressed (undressed is nearer the mark) like the common people, except that they wore a white or red cloth (turban?) on their head. They had temples and monasteries which were, however, inferior to those of the Buddhists. No special object of worship was to be seen in the interior of their temples except a heap of stones. There were also nuns of the same sect. From these particulars it will be seen that the *Tao-ssü* devotees could not be either Taoist, Buddhist, Jaina, or Brāhman votaries. I take them to be *Saktas* of the Saiva sect, worshipping the *Sivalinga* and the black stones dedicated to Kālī or Durgā, such as have been found both in Siām and Kamboja. The name *T'an* or *Dan*, by which they were known in *P'an-p'an*, I have rendered as *Danḍi*. It is known that in cities votaries of this sect are in general found collected in *maths*, while they mix freely with the world, and go round collecting their food like Buddhist monks.

† *A-hsiu-lo-wang* means *Asura-rāja*, King of the *Asuras*, and thus Rāhu would appear to be alluded to. The phonetic of the Chinese expression is, however, not much dissimilar from *Atharvan*, and thus the *Atharva Veda* might be intended. In any case, it is quite plain to me that, if not the latter, some Tantric text or the *Tantras* as a whole are the books here alluded to. Thus we get another possible explanation of the term *T'an*—i.e., *Tantra* followers. It is known that towards the end of the tenth century Tantricism, or at least an admixture of it with corrupt Buddhism, prevailed in Burmā, where it was exterminated by Anuruddha.

‡ *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 340.

*P'an-p'an* handed in a letter with a Buddha's tooth and an ornamental pagoda. They also offered *garu*-wood, sandal, and a score or so of such scents."]\*

Two years later (A.D. 532) a new embassy brought images of painted pagodas, *Shê-li* (*Śārikā*, i.e., Mainah) birds from the kingdom of *P'u-t'i* (Bodhi),† leaves from the Bodhi tree, scents, etc. Finally, under the Sui, during the period *Tu-yeh* (A.D. 615-617), yet another mission from *P'an-p'an* was received at Court.

#### DECLINE OF P'AN-P'AN.

From the above account we gather that the kingdom of *P'an-p'an* had relations with Northern India through the seaports on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula and on the Gulf of Martaban. The embassies sent to China range from A.D. 454 to 617, after which date every mention of *P'an-p'an* ceases from the Chinese annals. It is not referred to even a score of years later by Hwên-ts'ang, neither is it by I-tsing another fifty years afterwards. I-tsing does, indeed, speak of a country of *P'u-p'ên*, situated to the north of *Ho-ling* (Java ?)‡; and elsewhere of an island of *P'ên-p'ên*,§ which Takakusu thinks to be the same place, and identifies with Pembuan on the southern coast of Borneo. This is possible, although *P'u-p'ên* may be a quite distinct place, the same as the *P'an-p'an* of other writers; for it is yet an open question whether the *Ho-ling* of that time was Java, and not rather a portion of the Malay Peninsula, or both, being applied to both these different countries at the same time. In any case, we shall not insist on the identity of this mysterious *P'u-p'ên* with *P'an-p'an*, important as this point is in determining whether the latter State still existed—at least, under the old name—or had, as it is probable, changed denomination. It is, in fact, curious that while both Hwên-ts'ang and I-tsing mention *Kāmalanikā* (or *Lang-ka-hsü*) and next *Dvārāvati* as lying to the east of it, neither of them has a word about *P'an-p'an*, which must have occupied an intermediate position between those two countries. To construe this silence into a proof that *P'an-p'an* did no longer exist would be, of course, absurd. We know that the State where we have located *P'an-p'an* did continue to exist, only its capital was shortly afterwards removed from the neighbourhood of the P'hrah Banthom spire to Sup'han, and the western portion of the State seceded, forming a separate principality, with its capital at Rātburi (*Rājapurī*). At the same time, it is possible that *P'an-p'an*, being simply its seaport, silted up or became otherwise difficult of access to sea-going crafts, and that therefore the latter ceased to call thither, and preferred to put in at Dvārāpurī, which had in the meantime grown up into an important emporium, attracting to itself most of the foreign trade, and acting as a distributing centre for merchandise in Southern Siām. Thus *P'an-p'an* became forgotten by the

\* *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 340.

† This I take to mean the *Bodhimandala*—i.e., the region surrounding the *Bō* tree under which Gotama attained Buddhahip. At p. 459 we are told that in the kingdom of *P'o-li* there exist *shê-li*, or mainah birds, which understand human speech.

‡ Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

§ Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 10.



seafaring folk of that period, and its name ceased to appear in the relations of travellers.

#### LOCAL RECORDS OF P'AN-P'AN.

The information that can be elicited from local records on the early history of the State which we have identified with the *P'an-p'an* kingdom of the Chinese is so meagre as not to permit us to add anything of importance, as far as relations with China are concerned, to what is known to us through Chinese sources.

#### THE DONA STŪPA.

The foundation of the *P'hrah Thōn* (Pāli *Doṇa*, Sanskrit *Droṇa*) stūpa is placed in the year 1199 of the Buddhist Era, or A.D. 655-656; and Khún Lúang Hā-wat\* ascribes its erection to a king by the name of Indra-rāja. It was built in imitation of the Kumbhān stūpa of Drona at Deghwār, and contained a facsimile (supposed instead to be the genuine article) of the golden bowl (*doṇa* or *droṇa*) which served to measure Buddha's relics after his cremation. Its date may, however, be much older, as the figure 1199, purporting to represent the Buddhist Era year of its foundation, is, to a certain extent, open to criticism. With the name of this undoubtedly very ancient stūpa the Chinese designation *P'an-p'an* for the kingdom in the territory of which it was erected may have some connection.† Locally, this State was termed *Śrī Vijaya*, after the name of its capital, Śrī Vijaya Rājadhāni, which stood, as already pointed out, in the vicinity of the celebrated stūpa. But in the early days, when this city was the most important emporium of Southern Siām, it became identified with the name of the region where it stood, and was, no doubt, called after the latter *Sāmarattha* (i.e., the *Syāma-raṣṭra* or *Sāma-raṭṭha* city), in the same manner that, much later on, Ayuthia was styled *Siām* in the relations of travellers. From that standpoint I have repeatedly demonstrated,‡ *Śrī Vijaya* has been referred to as early as the second century A.D. by Ptolemy under the form *Sāmaradē*; and a thousand years later—as pointed out in a former page (p. 47)—itself or its territory have been recorded in the Angkor-wat inscriptions under a similar name—*Syāma-kūṭa* or *Syāma-kūṭa* (or *Kōṭa*).§

#### IDENTIFICATION OF H.M. YANG LI-CH'IH.

But to return to its early history. Local records state that one of its rulers—*Riddhi-jaya* or *Siddhi-jaya* by name—erected a large spire (*caitya*) and other monuments at the Buddhist monastery called *Wat Dharmasālā* in the centre of the city, and that one of his successors built afterwards the *P'hrah Banthom* (Bandama) or *Prathom* spire. The former event is placed early in the seventh century, and I am therefore strongly inclined to identify King Riddhi-jaya with the *Yang Li-ch'ih* or *An Riddhi* of the

\* *Op. cit.*, pp. 147, 148.

† Compare, in fact, *P'han* and *Kumbhan* (a tray, a bowl), with *P'an-p'an*, possibly meant for *P'hrah Phan* (*Vara-bhan*, *Var-bhan*), "the excellent (or sacred) bowl." *Ba-P'han* is another possible form.

‡ See, amongst other publications, my notes on the subject in this Review (January, 1898, to 1899).

§ As with *Lavō*: *Lahōt*, *Lohkōt* (*Lavakōṭa*).

Chinese annals. As regards the date of erection of the *Banthom* spire, the conflicting accounts given in Siāinese records make it impossible to fix it with certainty. What appears to be the case is that the original spire existed from at least the seventh century, and that it was rebuilt and much enlarged by a ruler styled P'hyā P'hān (*Bān*, *Bāna*) at the beginning of the tenth century.

#### HISTORY OF THE SRĪ VIJAYA STATE.

According to the foregoing considerations and the evidence that can be elicited from local records, the dynastic list and the leading events in the history of the *Srī Vijaya*, *Śyāma-kōṭa*, or *P'an-p'an* State would run approximately as follows :

*Circa* A.D. 150—*Srī Vijaya*, the southern capital of Siām, referred to by Ptolemy under the name *Sūmaradē* (*Sāmaratṭha*).

Between A.D. 424-453

A.D. 455

Between A.D. 457-464

A.D. 527

A.D. 530

A.D. 532

The above State sends envoys to China, and becomes there known as the kingdom of *P'an-p'an*, probably meaning "kingdom of the sacred bowl" (*p'hān* or *Kumbhān*).

*Circa* A.D. 550—*Devaranna* reigns, the *Yang Tè-wu-lien* of Chinese accounts.

*Circa* A.D. 600—*Riddhi* or *Riddhijaya*, son of the preceding, succeeds—the *Yang Li-ch'ih* of the Chinese. He erects the chaitya and other buildings at Wat Dharmasālā.

Between A.D. 615-617—Envoys sent to China; last instance recorded.

A.D. 655—*Indra-rāja* reigns. He erects (or enlarges?) the P'hrahṭhōn or Doṇa stūpa.

*Circa* A.D. 850—*Kasika-raja* reigns.

*Circa* A.D. 860—*P'hya Kong*, son of the preceding, succeeds. A boy, afterwards known as *P'hya P'hān* (*Bāna*) is born to him, but is ordered to be killed, it being predicted that he would murder his father in after years. The boy is, however, saved, and later on goes to Sukhothai.

*Circa* A.D. 905—*P'hya P'hān*, or *Banuraj*, having obtained troops from the King of Sukhothai, enters the State of *Srī Vijaya*, allies himself with the chief of Rājburī (*Rājapuri*), a feudatory of *Srī Vijaya*, whose daughter he obtains in marriage, and marches against the *Srī Vijaya* ruler, P'hyā Kong, whom he kills in single fight on elephants, without being aware of this personage being his father, and that therefore he was perpetrating parricide. Rebuilds and enlarges the P'hrahṭhōn (*Prathom*) spire in order to atone for the atrocious crime committed.

*Circa* A.D. 910—Departs on a visit to Sukhothai and Lamp'hūn. On his return, after three years' absence, he meets with opposition at the hands of his father-in-law, the King of Rājburī. He then establishes himself in the tributary State of *P'hanthum-buri* (*Banduma*, or *Bandhuma*, *puri*, afterwards known as *Sup'han*). Here he reigns until A.D. 947, when he departs this life.

A.D. 947—*Varṣa*, or *P'hansa-rajadhiraj*, son of the preceding, succeeds. He builds two Buddhist temples in *P'hanthum-buri*.

A.D. 984—*Rama-paṇḍita*, or *Ramavamsa-paṇḍita*, the elder son of the preceding, succeeds to the throne.

Between A.D. 1017-1195—*Bhāṇanuraj*, or *Bhannuraj*, from Pegu,\* invades Siām and pulls down the Banthom Chedi in order to get at the large "gongs of victory" which were said to have been buried in its foundations. He is, however, unsuccessful, and, having repented of the act of vandalism committed, has the monument rebuilt, but in the shape of a *prang*, or phallic-topped pagoda. During this period (third quarter of the twelfth century) the whole of Southern Siām appears to be subject to Burmo-Peguan domination,† from which it is freed—temporarily, at least—in A.D. 1181, through the instrumentality of the King of Lavô. P'hanthumburī is, in consequence of this event, apparently annexed by Lavô, and with the transfer of the capital of the last named State to Nòng-Sanô, it passes under the control of the Sanô kingdom (A.D. 1196).

Between A.D. 1300-1350—*Prince Kātē*, said to be a descendant of King Narēs [Narapati-jayasura] of Burmā, reigns at Nóng Sanô. He has the two principal temples in P'hanthum-burī repaired, and changes the name of this city into *Sup'han-buri* (Suvāna-purī).‡

\* It is doubtful whether it is a question here of *Anuruddha*, of Pagān, of *P'hanuraj* or *Pannurat*, the ruler of Maulmain, or of *Narapati-jayasura*. Of *Anuruddha* we are told that he caused a pagoda at *Sri-Kṣētra* (Old Prome) to be pulled down, in order that he might obtain a relic of Buddha enshrined therein; and that, in consequence of the sin he had committed in destroying the original pagoda, the relic disappeared. The same is related of the gongs in the present instance, and it does not seem, therefore, unlikely that it was that eccentric potentate who pulled down the Banthom spire also in the course of some raid into Siām.

† This domination does not seem to have begun until after 1150, for previous to that date we have seen from the Angkor-wat inscriptions that Southern Siām was subject to Kamboja. Its inception may coincide with the date of the pagoda-building competition at Maulmain, where the Siāmeses were worsted. It would be interesting to ascertain, as far as possible, the date of that event, and also of Pannurat's rule at Maulmain, in order to be able to decide whether the destruction of the Banthom spire followed as a direct consequence of the Burmo-Peguan success at Maulmain, and whether it was Pannurat's doing, or else it must be ascribed to the dynasty founded by *Anuruddha*. I have already called attention in this Review (January, 1898, pp. 146, 147) to the fact of slaves from Bukām (Pagān), *Syam* (Siām), etc.—who were most likely prisoners of war—being mentioned in the inscriptions of *Campa* between A.D. 1000 and 1050 *circa*. This shows that reprisals, if not actual war, had taken place between Burmā, Siām, Kamboja, and Campā at that period. Hence the Burmo-Peguan raid, which resulted in the pulling down of the Banthom spire, may have taken place at any time after *Anuruddha*'s accession (1010), though not probably earlier than 1057, the date of that ruler's conquest of Pegu. In my opinion it must, however, be regarded as an isolated fact, not followed by any lasting political results. Burmo-Peguan domination proper over Southern Siām can hardly have commenced, according to the evidence we have brought forward in these pages, before *Narapati-jayasura*'s time (1167-1204), and finds its explanation in the fact of this ruler having overrun the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and founded there Tavoy, whence he very probably passed into Siāmeses territory. Further research into as yet critically unexplored Burmo-Peguan records should assist in settling this question.

‡ This change of names, ascribed to Prince Kātē, must have taken place at the hands of one of his predecessors previous to A.D. 1350, for that city (or its district) is already mentioned under the new name *Sup'han* in the Sukhothai inscription of King *Rama-Khamhēng*, belonging to that period. The statement as regards Prince Kātē being a

A.D. 1350—King *Ramadhipati*, the founder of Ayuthia, sends his brother-in-law, *Khūn Luang Phangia*, to reign over Sup'han-buri as vassal king.

From this period the history of the Sup'han State merges into that of Ayuthia. Since 1418 no further royal princes were sent to rule over it as vassals of the Crown, but ordinary governors, with the result that Sup'han dwindled down to the level of a mere province of the kingdom of Siām.

### CHAPTER III.

#### LATER INTERCOURSE WITH SUKHÔTHAI.

(ELEVENTH-TWELFTH CENTURIES.)

HAVING thus disposed of Siāmo-Chinese relations, as far as known to us, down to the end of the tenth century A.D., we must now turn to the intercourse which took place almost immediately after that period between the State of Sukhōthai and the Celestial Empire. Whether this was merely a continuation, in an unbroken succession, of the relationship originally established between the two countries in A.D. 607, or else a renewal of traditional connections which had long remained interrupted, I am unable to say, since Chinese literature does not appear to contain any record of intercourse between the two countries at this stage, whereas the old Siāinese chronicles consider the communication that now took place to be the first of its kind ever established with China. In so far as this view is concerned we have demonstrated that it is incorrect, while as regards the Siāinese account of the manner in which this alleged original intercourse came to pass one can plainly see that it is made up of a good deal of fable, although, no doubt, containing some latent particle of truth in its legendary texture sufficient to warrant the assumption that an interchange of embassies must have really taken place between the two countries at the period in question. Yet, from lack of reliable data from Chinese sources wherewith to check the story given on the Siāinese side and sift in it the truth from fiction, we feel that we cannot do better than give the Siāinese account, translated in its entirety, with only a few comments, leaving the final judgment upon it to be pronounced when the supplementary information we are still in need of is forthcoming.

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descendant of the Pagān dynasty seems rather extraordinary, especially as Southern Siām was now, since A.D. 1256, under the jurisdiction of Sukhōthai, where the above-mentioned Rāma-khamhēng or *Rama-raja* now reigned. Any surmise as to a new descent having been made by Burmese armies into Southern Siām is absolutely out of the question, encroachment having been made instead in the opposite direction, as the coast of the Malay Peninsula as far as Martaban had now been brought under Siāinese rule. The only possible surmise is that Kātē was a scion of the line of princes born from the union of the Lavō princess with Narapati-jayasura, who had probably taken refuge in Siām in consequence of political complications at Pagān, and who ultimately succeeded, by fair or foul means, in ascending the throne of his relatives at Nóng Sanō. From this he, or his immediate descendants, appear to have been ousted by King V-thōng (Rāmādhīpati I.) shortly before A.D. 1350.

As already adverted to in the introductory part of this paper, the first Siamese mission that proceeded to China, and of which the account in question purports to be a narrative, is ascribed to King Arunavati Rùang of Swankhalôk and placed in the seventh century A.D., or even earlier according to different versions. I have, however, adduced sufficient evidence, I think, to show that the celebrated potentate so named could not have reigned before the eleventh century, and that his mission to China—given that it was undertaken under his personal leadership—is accordingly to be put down in either 1059 or 1079 A.D., the former date being perhaps the more probable, although either may yet require a slight correction. I need not repeat here the arguments that tell in favour of such a view, and shall therefore proceed to give, as proposed, a translation as literal as possible of the Siamese account alluded to.

#### A.—KING RUANG'S EMBASSY (A.D. 1059?).

##### MOTIVE OF THE EMBASSY.

King Arun Rājādhirāj Rùang Chau inquired of his junior brother, Prince Riddhi-kumār,\* "How is it that the Emperor of China did not attend the inaugural ceremony of our new era?† We shall go and conduct him here in captivity."‡ Having concerted together a plan for the expedition, the two brothers commanded the ministers (Amātya) to place in readiness a skiff eight *was* (16 metres) in length with a four cubits (2 metres) beam; and seizing an auspicious moment, on a Sunday, they set out, drifting down-stream with the current.

##### THE SEA VOYAGE.

The she-elephant goddess *P'hālāhok* (*Valāhaka*), with her celestial train,§ and bebies of male *devas*, escorted the two Princes, who carried as

\* Born from the legitimate Queen, while Arunavati Rùang was, as already pointed out, the outcome of the clandestine union of the King with a *Naga* woman.

† According to the chronicles, all potentates of *Jambu-dvīpa* (here meant for both India and Indo-China), including the Kings of the Thai, Lāu, Mōñ, Burmese, Sinhalese, Indūs, etc., attended the assembly convened at *wat Khôk Singārāma*—now termed *wat P'hrah Sangharāj*—situated in the centre of the city of Swankhalôk, for the purpose of inaugurating the new era.

‡ All the speeches being invariably given in the *oratio recta* in Siamese composition, they have been preserved in such a form in the present and following translations, so as to better render the style of the original.

§ The *Valāhakas*, according to the "Trai-bhūm," the standard Siamese work on Buddhist cosmology, are the presiding deities of meteors, or, rather, of climatic changes. They are said to be five in number, named respectively:

- |     |                        |                              |
|-----|------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Sita Valāhaka</i> , | Angel causing cold;          |
| (2) | <i>Upha</i>            | " " " heat;                  |
| (3) | <i>Amba</i>            | " " " dew, snow, and fogs;   |
| (4) | <i>Vāta</i>            | " " " the winds to blow; and |
| (5) | <i>Vassa</i>           | " " " rain.                  |

*Valāhaka* or *Balāhaka* specifically means a cloud, and as a proper name is generally given to horses—e.g., one of the four horses of Visnu—King Mahā Sudassana's wonderful horse, the *Assa ratanañ* of the Buddhist *Mahā-Sudassana sutta*, which was "all white, with a black head and a dark mane," similar to a cloud, etc. Hence I am at a loss to account for the reason why the deity of meteors is here spoken of as a she-elephant.

only weapons bow, sword, and arrows. The guardian deities of the Earth (*P'hrah Bhūmi*) and the god of Winds (*P'hrah P'hūi*, i.e., *Vāyu*) wafted them on, while *Mēkhalā*, the Sea-goddess,\* most benignantly protected

\* *Nāṅ* (Lady) *Mēkhalā* (literally, the "Girdled Goddess") is, according to imported Buddhist mythology, the guardian deity of the ocean and patroness of sailors. Her residence is in the heavenly sphere of the *Cātummaharajika* dēvas, and she is expected to assist the righteous beings who are in danger amidst the waves. Should she fail to extend such good offices to the meritorious ones, she would be severely rebuked by the dēvas for thus neglecting her duty, and punished by being temporarily cut off from intercourse with them and excluded from their social gatherings. In the *Mahā-Janaka Jātaka* the goddess *Mēkhalā* is represented to have descended from her heavenly abode in order to save the hero of the story, the youthful Prince Mahā-Janaka (an incarnation of the *Bodhisatta* or coming Buddha), while he was hopelessly struggling with the waves after the wreck of his ship, whom she carried in her arms to his native land.

In Siāmesū Brāhmaṇic mythology, on the other hand, the same deity becomes *Nāṅ Maṇi-Mēkhalā* or Lady *Mēkhalā* with the magic jewel (but, literally, the "Gem-girdled Goddess"). She is in this character an *akāsa-dēvadhātā* or atmospheric female dēva dwelling amongst the clouds and producing lightning, the latter being generated by the flashes issuing forth from the priceless jewel she holds in her hand. A powerful *yaksa* or giant with a celestial hatchet for weapon, named *Ramasūra* (who is, in reality, *Parasurāma* transferred from the Indū into the Siāmo-Brāhmaṇic mythology), blind with love for the charming goddess and not in the least deterred by the repulses he got from her, unceasingly pursues her through the sky in the endeavour to make her his own by force, should he fail to ultimately win her heart. But the refractory goddess, thanks to the virtue of the wonderful gem which ever carries her about in rapid motion, is enabled not only to elude all her suitor's attempts at capture, but to make a fool of him with all sorts of mockeries; and in order to make him feel the more her contempt for his boasted powers, she often takes the cruel pleasure of teasing him by actually agitating the jewel in his very face. It is at such moments that lightning is produced by the luminous flashes emanating from the effulgent gem, and that the tantalized giant in the paroxysm of his fury hurls forth his weapon after his unrelenting persecutrix. But in vain, for the hatchet misses the ever-fluttering mark, and unsullied with the stigma of crime it returns to its owner, the only result being peals of thunder produced by its tearing journey through the clouds. Sometimes its effect is a thunderbolt, when the hatchet falling to earth cleaves trees, rocks, and whatever else it happens to meet with on its way. Meteorites occasionally found buried in the earth are generally believed to be fragments that got detached from *Rāmasūra's* hatchet, and accordingly they are carefully stored away as amulets, and even worshipped under the name of "thunderbolt stones." Owing to the above credence, the thunderbolt is, in Siāmesē, also designated *Khwan-fu*, i.e., the "celestial axe." This graceful myth of *Ramasūra* giving chase to *Nāṅ Maṇi-Mēkhalā*, forms a favourite subject for artists in Siam, and may be seen frequently represented in painting, as well as in plastic and *repoussé* work. Foreign curio amateurs go on buying such representations by the hundred, with but a hazy idea or no idea at all of the meaning attached to them by the natives. Evidently the myth is a surviving chip of the primitive religion of the Thai and neighbouring Indo-Chinese nations, clad into a Brāhmaṇo-Buddhist vesture, after the advent and spread of Indū religious beliefs in the country. Presumably it has its counterpart, if not its prototype, in the far less poetical Chinese legend of *Tien-mu*, the goddess of lightning, said to accompany *Lei-kung*, the thunder-god, and to flash light by means of a mirror on the wicked people which he is to strike with his bolts. Similarly, *Mēkhalā*, in her character of oceanic deity, may perhaps be recognised in the Chinese *Ma-tsu-p'o*, goddess of the sea and queen of heaven, who is, in her turn, identified with *Kwan-yin*, an ancient local goddess of mercy and patroness of sailors, healing disease and saving mariners from shipwreck. The myth originated, therefore, very probably in Southern China, whence it was adopted and modified by the modern Chinese, being on the other hand introduced into Indo-China by the early pre-Chinese populations who proceeded thither to settle. In the ancient text of the

them from dangers. After one month's sailing they came within sight of the Chinese coast. On that day a great portent occurred. A thick mist had completely shrouded the sun and moon, and the Chinese people at these ominous signs had become so terrified that every hair on their head and body stood on end, and their skin ruffled up, while fearfully shivering in every limb.

Immediately the Emperor summoned forth his ministers, and having held a consultation with them, he despatched *Khún Kêu Kân Chîn*\* in exploration out at sea. This official cruised both northwards and southwards without being able to discern any hostile ship. He merely sighted the frail little vessel carrying the two Thai Princes, which was then making straight for the shore. Having seen as much as that, the Chinese messenger withdrew to make his report to the sovereign.

#### ARRIVAL IN CHINA.

Upon learning the news, the Emperor at once grasped the situation, as a prophecy of Buddha had been put on record to the effect that two Thai brothers would come forth by sea to seek for a bride, and that one of them, having become the master of the whole *Jambu-dvîpa*,† would abolish the Buddhist era in his States. "Now," exclaimed the Emperor, "behold that they have come indeed!" and thus reassured as to the safety of his dominions, he despatched a guard of honour, with several high officials, to welcome the two visitors, and escort them to the imperial palace.‡

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adjurations employed in the ordeals of fire and water, we find Maṇi Mēkhalā invoked along with Varuṇa and Vāyu in her character of meteoric deity, while under the simple style of Mēkhalā she is spoken of as "empress of the ocean" and "goddess of the perilous seas, of waters, and streams" (see my translation in this Review, July, 1895, issue, pp. 170, 171, and 175). This scission of the deity into two separate goddesses with different rôles is due, no doubt, to the influence of Buddhism, which introduced the notion of a sea-goddess pure and simple. But the similarity of names between the two, as well as the ancient tradition of Ma-tsu-p'o in her twofold character of oceanic deity and queen of heaven, tend to show that in pre-Chinese Southern-China and in the Indo-China of the early days, the two deities formed but one, which was a goddess of the sea and lightning: a sort of Aphrodite or, still better, Knidian Euploia with the magic cestus, shirking the embraces of an over-zealous Hephaestos.

\* This simply means "the most excellent" (or "precious," literally "jewel") "official of Chinese affairs." *Khún-kêu* is identical with the Cantonese *Kun-k'au*, and Annamese *kwan-kêu*, the terms of which would have, of course, to be inverted thus: *k'au-kun*, *kêu-kwan*, in order to suit the peculiar genius of the Chinese language).

† *Jambu-dvîpa*, according to Siamese Buddhist cosmology as set forth in the *Traîbhûm*, Books IV. and V., is made to include not only India, as in the Brâhmanic and Pauranic systems, but also the adjacent countries, which constituted all the world known to the early Buddhists. (See for more details my work on the "Tonsure Ceremony," etc., pp. 95 *seq.*). Not only Siām, therefore, but the whole of Indo-China, was considered to be part of it.

‡ The Chinese Court then resided at *Pien-ching* (or *Pien-liang*), now K'ai-fêng Fu in Honan, the reigning emperor being either Jên Tsung (A.D. 1023-1063) or Yin Tsung (1064-1068) of the Northern Sung dynasty. Foreign embassies from the south would undoubtedly be required to land at Canton, and thence to proceed overland to the capital; hence the puerility and *invraisemblance* of the Siamese account.

## RECEPTION BY THE EMPEROR.

As the two strangers reached the throne-hall, the Emperor bade them be seated upon a jewelled platform, and having made his obeisance to them, entered into conversation with them. This proved an easy task, as King Rùang was well acquainted with the country's language, and could talk it fluently.\* The Emperor then had led into their presence his own daughter [*Sucadevi* by name], whom he presented as a bride and supreme Queen (*Aggamahēsi*) to King Rùang. The reason for such a course was that this Princess had, together with King Rùang, while both in a former existence, performed meritorious deeds, consisting in having the *Tripitaka* of the Buddha Kakusandha† transcribed at their own expense; and also that, when the Buddha Gotama tarried to partake of his morning meal at the five central villages [*i.e.*, at Swankhalôk],‡ the actual King Rùang appeared before him in the form of a *Nāga* (serpent), in which state of existence he had then been reborn, and offered him water to drink. This deed had caused the Great Sage to utter the prediction: "This *Nāga* will abolish the *Tathāgata's* [*i.e.*, Buddha's] era at the completion of its thousandth year." This prophecy had now become realized in the person of King Rùang.§

The Emperor of China, being perfectly aware of these events of long-gone-by ages, could not but meet King Rùang's desire, which he fully knew it was impossible for him to thwart; hence he made over to him his daughter. Having, then, commanded a junk to be placed in readiness, and caused a number of the customary presents to be put on board, he had the imperial seal of the Dragon cut into two halves, one of which [including the Dragon's head] he kept, while handing over the other, containing the Dragon's tail, to his daughter, that she might stamp her letters with it. By apposing the half of the seal which remained in his own hands against the half affixed to the letter, and finding perfect correspondence, the Emperor would thereby know for a certainty that the message came from his own daughter.||

\* This presupposes the existence of Chinamen in Siam, from whom King Rùang could learn the language. It may be taken as certain that there were already by this time a considerable number of celestials settled in the country.

† The first of the five Buddhas of the present *Buddhakalpa* (the eleventh of the series), of whom four have already appeared—viz., Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Gotama.

‡ These are the *Pañca-majja-gama*, or original "Five villages of the Centre," on the sites of which the city of Swankhalôk was founded, as stated in the first part of this paper.

§ It is usual, in local pseudo-historical literature, to credit Buddha with the vaticination of most important events that have come to pass long after his disappearance from the world, in order, no doubt, to surround them with that halo of awe-inspiring authority and quasi-predestination apt to evoke the admiration and respect of the multitudes. We have seen in the preceding page that King Rùang's visit to China is also alleged to have been foretold by Buddha. Native chronicles abound with instances of such pious inventions which, in the case of Burmā, the late General Cunningham, with a stronger term, stigmatized as "lying gabble" of the local historians.

|| In China there was formerly employed a bamboo tally-tablet called *Fu*. This was cleft into two halves, of which each of the contracting parties kept one. Chinese



## THE RETURN TO SIAM.

When all the preparations for the voyage had been completed, King Rùang left on board the junk placed at his disposal by the Chinese Emperor, with his bride Sucadēvi, his junior brother Prince Riddhi Rājakumār, and an escort of 500 Chinamen which had been provided for him. By the favour of the gods, after one month's sailing, he reached the shores of his native land, and [having entered the river] continued the journey up-stream to his capital, Sajjanālai [Swankhalōk], for the tide then flowed up as far as this city, and it was accordingly possible for sea-going crafts to reach it.\* Upon arrival, King Rùang landed, and proceeded to his palace.

Ambassadors accredited to foreign Powers received one half of the *Fu*, the authenticity of which could always be verified by comparing it with the other half, as done with the Exchequer tallies formerly issued in England. In the sequel the bamboo tablet was replaced by a seal termed *chie*, or *Fu-hsi*, divided into two parts, equal in size, of which it was possible, by approaching them, to ascertain the authenticity, and thereby control the powers of a diplomatic envoy, as well as the genuineness of State missives sent from abroad. The seal handed over to King Rùang's bride was evidently of this description, except that it represented a dragon with five claws to each of its feet, as used by the Imperial Court. Some local commentators say that the dragon of the imperial seal has *nine* claws; but I hardly believe that such is, or has ever been, the case. The mistake arose, perhaps, through somebody having confounded the common four-clawed with the imperial five-clawed dragon into one, thus arriving at the number of  $4 + 5 = 9$  claws for the imperial one. This matter needs, however, investigation at the hands of specialists in Chinese etiquette lore. As regards seals conferred upon Siamese rulers, it will be seen in the next part of this paper that camel-knob silver-gilt seals were, as a rule, delivered to them at a later period, three instances being recorded of such a proceeding—viz., in A.D. 1403, 1673, and 1787.

*King Rùang's Wonderful Gem.*—It appears, furthermore, from the sequel of King Rùang's history in the Northern annals, that the Emperor of China had conferred upon him, as a *kwai*, or gem-token, a thirst-allaying jewel called *Udaka-prasāda*, by the virtue of which King Rùang could go about the country for seven days in succession without needing aught to drink. This may have been a peculiar kind of stone, if not a metallic pellet of silver amalgam, such as is termed "solidified" or "killed" mercury in the local colloquial, and sometimes kept in the mouth by natives for a similar purpose. The *Udakkappasādaka-maṇi*, as that gem is termed in Pāli literature, is, however, more generally known to be a "Water-clearing Gem," as its name implies; and it is mentioned in this character in the *Milinda Pañhā*, Book II., Chapter I., 10. When thrown into the water, all the mud precipitates itself, and the sandy atoms of shell and bits of water-plants disappear, and the water becomes clear, transparent, serene, and fit to drink (see Rhys Davids' translation in "Sacred Books of the East," p. 55). In the light of this explanation, I would not be in the least surprised if King Rùang's pretended thirst-allaying gem he brought with him from China were actually, after all, some fine crystal of humble rock-alum, useful instead for water-clarifying purposes. So was probably as well the gem celebrated in the "Questions of Milinda."

\* This statement about the tide then flowing up as far as Swankhalōk must be taken *cum grano salis*. At present the tidal influence barely reaches—and that only during the dry season, when the river is at its lowest—a short distance above Ayuthia, and we may take it for certain that it did not at the period in question push up much further, even if due allowance be made for the gradual rise of the land during the interval, a phenomenon that has been going on all over Indo-China from times immemorial. On the other hand, the statement as regards sea-going crafts—of shallow draft, of course, as were those of those days—being able to proceed up-river as far as the old Siamese capital, seems to be

THE MANUFACTURE OF CROCKERYWARE INTRODUCED INTO SIAM  
FROM CHINA.

The Ministers and Government officials in a body convened to greet and do homage to their Sovereign, and the Chinamen who had come out in his train started to make crockery, specimens of which they in due course offered to him. Thus, henceforward there were manufactured and used in Siām chinaware articles, consisting of cups, dishes, and bowls, now called "articles of Swankhalōk."\*

correct, and is confirmed by the Chinese account of the embassy of A.D. 607-608, according to which the junk that brought the Chinese envoys ascended the river to that extent. The river was, naturally, then much deeper than at present, there being, perhaps, not quite half as much difference in level as now between the old capital and the sea. The present elevation of ancient Swankhalōk above mean sea-level I found to be 225 feet, and that of old Sukhōthai 140 feet. The height of Pāk-nam P'hō at the junction of the main river with the Mē-P'hing (or C'hieng-māi branch) is given at 105 feet, and that of Ayuthia is estimated to be no more than 15 feet or thereabout. We gather from the Chinese narrative that it took the Chinese envoys of A.D. 607-8 one month in order to reach either Sukhōthai or Swankhalōk from the river's outlet into the Gulf. This circumstance, combined with the fact of the present not inconsiderable elevation of these ancient cities above sea-level, makes it rather unlikely that they were, even at the early period just referred to, reached by the tide.

\* It is worthy of remark that Bishop Pallegoix—whose statements are by the uninitiated accepted as gospel, whereas they are often misleading and interlarded with errors of the grossest character, evidencing an as yet but imperfect acquaintance with the country, its language, and customs—in the summary he gives of the above account from the "Northern Chronicles," translates—or, rather, mistranslates—the last passage as follows ("Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," vol. ii., pp. 66, 67): "C'est depuis cette époque que les jonques chinoises viennent faire le commerce à Siam, et y apportent tous les ans une grande quantité de vases de porcelaine" [!!]. Despite his twenty-four years' connection with Siām at the time he wrote his book, the worthy prelate ignored—as did, indeed, all writers on this country who followed him, up to the present day—the existence of the Swankhalōk potteries; hence, I think, his inability to grasp the proper meaning and import of the passage in question, which he was thus led to twist and pervert in the manner exhibited by the above extract.

*(To be continued.)*

## TANSAR'S ALLEGED LETTER.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

IN the library of the India Office there exists a MS. of a history of Tabaristan, a province of Persia, written by a certain Bin-ul-Hasan (*sic*), a native of the country, and either dated or otherwise determined to the year 1210 A.D.\*

In the introduction to it occurs a document in the form of a lengthy "letter" by one Tansar, reported to be a Persian sage and a high priest of Ardashīr Bābagān, to Jasnaḡ-shāh, the then Prince of Tabaristan, in supposed answer to a letter of this Prince to the writer, Tansar. The piece was found accidentally by this Bin-ul-Hasan in a shop at Khvārizm, a centre of literary intelligence at that day. It was in Arabic, and made by one Ibn-al-Mokāffah (*sic*), a converted Guèbre—that is to say, a renegade Zoroastrian—about 450 years before Bin-ul-Hasan found it—that is to say, it was dated from not long before 760 A.D.

Bin-ul-Hasan translated it into Persian, and inserted it where it now stands. As being a supposed translation into Arabic of a pahlavi letter written about A.D. 234, it had several intermediaries, pahlavi or otherwise. Pahlavi was, however, current in literary Persia in A.D. 740 odd, and aside from the fact that intermediaries existed, an original document would have been understood at the time; but between the supposed date of it and the last translator of it in its present form into Persian, a space of 1,000 years about, and also many writers, had intervened.

A French translation by a Mr. Ahmed-Bey Agaëff, a young Musulman of the Caucasus, appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* of Mai-Juin, 1894. This translation had also been revised by a M. Ferté, French Consul at Teheran

\* See the *Journal Asiatique*, Mars-Avril, 1894. I learn lately from the authorities at the British Museum that this MS. has never been printed.

in 1894. The text itself, edited with notes, was published in the Mars-Avril number of the journal of the same year.

In the following remarks I accept this text and translation without discussion for an obvious reason. Its freedom is desirable, and a verbatim anyone can make from the original for himself. The letter is supposed to illustrate a passage in the Dīnkard, who speaks of one Tōsar, who flourished in the time of Ardashīr, and took part in the task of collecting and restoring the MSS. of the Avesta.

The object in bringing the letter forward seems to have been to prove that there existed in Persia at the time of Ardashīr a high state of social and intellectual culture, and even a school of philosophical thought, this being regarded as fully illustrated as well as proved by the document. Then the impression seems intended to be left upon us that much Avesta was written during the early part of the reign of Ardashīr, which last is, in fact, quite natural enough, even if other points are not to be supported. If any Avesta could have been written at the period, the implication is left upon us that the Gāthas themselves may have been written some 200 or 300 years before, say in A.D. *circa* or B.C. 100. I do not think that the above course of reason is sound. My reasons are that the "letter," like scores of similar documents in those early and also in later ages, is, in everything but its nucleus, entirely spurious, and with the rejection of it I most especially doubt the presumption that a philosophical spirit at all seriously prevailed at the time in Persia.

I hope to illustrate the truth of these last objections by an examination of the document as published and explained in the French periodical.

Graphic details meet us at once at the commencement. Tansar (accepting this reading of the name provisionally) is said to have been "a Mobed of the Mobeds," which is well in keeping with the conclusions, as Zarathushtrianism was distinctly organized, and its adherents might be well called

a "church," and the line of the chief priests must have been also continuous and practically unbroken.

We can freely compare our own ecclesiastical system as to this one particular.

But extraordinary peculiarities are at once claimed for this Archbishop (*sic*), and by himself; before these, however, we have an item from Maçoudi quoted. This refers to a self-sacrifice *not* claimed by Tansar himself. The Bîshar (Tansar) mentioned in Maçoudi was said to be one of the provincial kings (or princes), and to have reigned in the province of Persia. He was also declared to have been of the Platonic sect (so). He abdicated and embraced the religious life (so our worthy annalist). Now these tales of kings becoming monks, though always, of course, possible, are, as in themselves, more than suspicious; and here our suspicions are at once deepened into the strongest possible adverse conviction after reading the letter of this princely renunciant with philosophic convictions. I for one do not hesitate to say that I do not at all believe that the author of such a composition ever had the opportunity of resigning a kingdom, however insignificant. He states that he was an "ascetic," and had been one for fifty years. "I have abstained rigorously," he goes on, "from the joys of marriage and of love, from the acquisition of riches and the intercourse of men. I have never taken deeply to heart what I happened to desire, and have lived in the world as a prisoner, that the nations (*les peuples*) might know my justice and my virtue, and seek my counsels as to the salvation of the soul."

Now this would indeed be an admirable policy for securing the object held in view; and if the bombastic tone of the letter did not betray it as the made-up fiction of a later age, it would be adapted to its object. Audacity in an extreme manifestation might seem well calculated to produce the desired effect, but it is out of all keeping with historical circumstances. Asceticism and celibacy were, in the first place, strictly against all the usages of the Parsi

priesthood ; in all probability also as even defined by law. And these assumptions are still more out of keeping with the character of the man as revealed in this document, which is supposed to have been his composition. Then, also, his excessive claims to spiritual sanctity are out of keeping with the tone of his effort, which is worldly to a degree. I will not, of course, deny that egotism and vanity may have manifested themselves in a person otherwise fairly honest and sincerely fanatical ; but the objection which I have already made is so obvious a difficulty with the later compilers of the letter that they immediately hasten to "accuse" while "excusing" themselves, for they elaborately anticipate the expected criticism.

"How could I dare to attack my religion," he is made to exclaim, "by refusing to accept what it permits as to wife, as to wine, etc., for to forbid what is permitted is as bad as to permit what is forbidden?" He proceeds to defend himself by way of precedent—that is to say, he cites certain supposed sages who did the like from the days of Darius. "They preferred," he declares, "to isolate themselves, to renounce this hollow life and the ways of the brutes (*sic*). Blushing to own those as their companions who were walking outside the paths of reason, they crushed their hearts, and, refusing to play longer with foxes, they went to seek peace among the panthers. They bid adieu to the world, renounced the thousand passions which follow it, and preferred the struggle for the soul and for eternity to these scenes, where they empty the cup of vain desires ; they sacrificed their passions to the salvation of their souls, for it is written in the Bible (*Car il est écrit dans la Bible!*)\* 'to fly from the ignorant is to approach unto God,' for there are none more miserable than two kinds of men : the first is the sage whom the world leaves miserable in the hands of the ignorant ; the second is a King whose evil fortune has hurled him from a throne to poverty." One would suppose that this passage was enough alone and of itself to

\* This exclamation point is my own, not the reviewer's.

decide at once and for ever as to the genuineness of the letter. What had the Iranian High Priest of Ardashīr to do with the Hebrew Bible in A.D. 234 odd? Of course, the remark came from one to whom the Thorah (not "la Bible") was familiar through the Kurān, and the Kurān alone; but the Kurān was not composed till centuries after A.D. 234, nor known in Persia till still later. Yet the distinguished editor is equal to the occasion, for he at once elides the passage, and most properly so. The sentence is not possible, so he cordially acknowledges, when regarded as an original part of a letter composed at the time and place named, and by the person who, as he maintains, had been the author of it.

Surely by such a process we can prove anything to be genuine!

We have only to cut out of it all the passages which make it clear that it was late. Of course, we must eliminate the passage if we wish to prove that the bulk of the letter was written in A.D. 234, following; but what right have we to eliminate this passage unless we at the same time eliminate whatever is cognate to it? What can be more apt than this rejected citation, or more germane to the context? Why should it be eliminated? The process of elision can only be rationally guided by the congruity or incongruity of the passage to be retained or elided, either to the immediate context or to the bulk of a document. The author of the letter wishes to conciliate sympathy with those who voluntarily or involuntarily fly from the world, and in defiance of the spirit of Zoroastrian precepts. The words seem written by a man who knew something of the (early) lives of the saints, as of the Bible through the Kurān, written centuries after Ardashīr. No Prime Minister of that great monarch can have penned such ideas in A.D. 234. If a real Tansar at such a date had any knowledge of the Bible, it would be only to despise it; and yet this "Bible" citation is wholly germane to the contexts, for both the old and the new Bible abound in ascetic hints urging upon men

to give up the world to save their own souls. The new presents one ascetic figure which has been signal for all ages.\* Why, then, should these remarks be cut out? As we all agree, no high priest of Ardashīr ever penned or dictated such a sentence, but neither did he pen that which goes before it or that which follows after. Why not elide those passages as well? The sole difference between the editor and me is this: that in order to get at the real nucleus of the letter as extant in A.D. 234, I would elide not merely an awkward passage here and there, but almost the whole mass of the text as in its present form, for almost the entire mass of it as it now stands is impossible as an original production by a Parsi of A.D. 234.

Not far on after this follows a claim to peculiar clemency in the interest of the King (of kings), almost in contradiction to what is said later (see p. 515). "The reigning Shahān-shah has power," so the document goes on to say, "over religion. God is his ally, and in changing this work of destruction and of changing the order of violence, I see him better armed and adorned with virtues than the ancients." But as a matter of fact he found it to be necessary to execute his brothers,† a too familiar procedure for an ancient Oriental upon mounting a despotic throne. Still, this particular by no means decisively militates against the genuineness of this eulogy. Ardashīr may well have dealt less in bloodshed than others (yet see p. 19), and nothing would be more natural than that he should order his creatures to multiply assertions to this effect as to his goodness; and as to this the substance of the letter must have been genuine. But these urgent and cunning injunctions which resulted in its present form belong to the party politics of a different age. I make no doubt of it that the real author of the Persian translation was in sympathy with the Parsi community, whose first Sasanian King he was lauding, though I am not quite sure that he was himself a Parsi;

\* Viz., the Baptist.

† This is the opinion of Nöldeke. It hardly looks like the gāthic lore.



and the passage seems to me to have been intended to produce an effect upon Parsi and Arabic opinion long after the conquest, toning up the waning Zarathushtrian sentiment of the day, and stemming the tide of perversions to Islam.

Then follows (p. 516) a simple acceptance of the ancient tale that Alexander destroyed the sacred books, no limit being placed to the assertion: "He burnt our sacred books written upon twelve thousand ox-skins." But does the distinguished editor really seem to hint here, or elsewhere, that this is a reason for supposing that "all the original Zend documents have totally disappeared"? I should hesitate very seriously before I accused *anyone* of such an idea. In the loose phraseology of the later Zoroastrian books this was, however, often and plainly stated. See the "Ardā Vīrāf," with its allusions to "the accursed Alexander," i. 7, and the "religion written upon prepared cow-skins and with golden ink (*sic*), which he burnt up."

The fact that valuable or splendid MSS. emblazoned upon leather were burned or otherwise destroyed at Persepolis and in various places during Alexander's march is most credible. As the religion of Auramazda was nearly universal, it would seem to be hardly possible that some MSS. should not have disappeared, especially from the chief palaces, which immediately attracted the cupidity of the invaders; but that Alexander of all men in any way whatsoever especially ordered their destruction depends entirely upon how much he may have feared their influence as a means of strengthening the fanatical resistance of the population. In the first flush of his successes, and in the eagerness of pressing them, he may possibly have given a free hand to military arson; but everything goes to show that directly his results seemed secured, he would have been anxious to preserve rather than to destroy the MSS. He seems soon to have hit upon a policy of conciliation and even of assimilation; he affected to become half Persian himself, at one time even adopting the Persian

dress ; he tried to talk the Persian language, and sought to be indoctrinated in its lore. He was the last man living to order the destruction of the monuments of an ancient faith, unless he acutely felt the danger of their inspiring his adversaries, and any such apprehension with regard to the Zoroastrian documents must have been rapidly dispelled, if it ever existed. Precious copies of the MSS., like many a fire-altar, must have been destroyed with the brutal fury of a victorious soldiery, and, as usual, the person supreme in command reaped the credit of the mishap, though he may never have known that it occurred. But that anybody endowed with a critical judgment should for a moment suppose that Alexander destroyed *all* the then extant "books" or manuscripts of the Zend Avesta, or could have destroyed them had he made the attempt to do so, is very remarkable, nor has anyone positively ventured upon such a suggestion. The priesthood swarmed, of course, and every hamlet had its altar, or at least its assembly ; the sacred places may have been indeed defenceless, but the MSS. would have been hurriedly concealed. That there existed some very valuable parchments in the palace at Persepolis goes without saying, for even a lukewarm King would have preserved a fine collection, and this whether or not they were written in "letters of gold" and on "cow-skins." If they were set up in gilt they would have been beautiful enough, for the character was shapely even then ; but that these codices comprised more than a very few copies of their extant Zoroastrian scriptures is not at all probable. They perished, naturally enough, with the burning castle ; but there were doubtless hundreds, if not thousands, of copies of every one of the different books in the strong chests of the priests scattered throughout the provinces. To destroy the MSS. so that not a "letter remained" would have taken years, and occupied an inquisition aided by the most modern of police. The "scriptures" were a talisman of life to the people ; an indestructible fanaticism would have saved them. The loss of the

treasures at Persepolis was doubtless great, and Alexander, if he ever heard of it, would have bewailed it most. However that may be, this much is certain : that whether done at Alexander's order or by his wish, or without his directions or knowledge, this pre-Vandal vandalism could not have had any appreciable effect upon the continuity of the great religion, as it did not, in fact ; for Ardashīr some 500 years later than this could only have enthroned a faith which was part and parcel of the mental life of vast masses among his people. So much for the natural but extraordinary belief that Alexander burnt the MSS., and all of them—that is to say, such an opinion would have been extraordinary when regarded as the conclusion of a modern critic ; but it was a very natural belief when regarded as prevailing among the Zoroastrian Persians at the time of Ardashīr the Great. This, then, is in favour of the general authenticity of the facts presented. Alexander's foraging parties must have burnt up many documents with or without his will or knowledge, and nothing was more natural than that he should have reaped the credit of burning all of them that were burned ; for it would be foolish to suppose that any facts in favour of that great conqueror, who was so bitterly hated, could have maintained themselves for a decade in the memories of his victims. The least statement that modified his iniquities would have been extremely unpopular. It is only wonderful that they did not impute a longer catalogue of misdeeds to him. As it is, the indictment is by no means light. Both Ardashīr and his Minister may well have uttered the usual calumny whenever they were displeased with Greece or with Macedon, or otherwise thought that the repetition of it might be useful.

This item, then, belongs to the real nucleus of the "letter," whether gathered from separate documents long subsequent to Ardashīr or not. But it is *simply a matter of course* ; it proves nothing, nor does it disprove anything, and, indeed, I may say at once that the same can be said of almost every sentence in the piece.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Monday, December 2, 1901, a paper was read by David Duncan, Esq., LL.D. (late Director of Public Instruction, Madras), entitled "Is the Educational System of India a Failure as regards Moral Training?"\* Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The following among others were present : Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Joshua and Lady Fitch, Mr. Justice Shepherd, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel Drake Brookman, Lieut.-Colonel Dymott, Deputy Surgeon-General Farquhar, Colonel Hutchins, Miss Manning, Raizada Eshwar Das, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel John Ince, Mr. J. W. Neile, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. John Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Captain G. G. Giffard, Mrs. Aublet, Miss Hertz, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. F. R. Bomanje, Mr. Wagle, Mr. N. D. Daru, Mr. J. C. Chacko, Mr. St. Albans Harum, Mr. Bilderdeck, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Mr. Martin Wood, Miss Bailey, Miss Branson, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The paper having been read,

The CHAIRMAN said : There are one or two points which, not only as chairman of this particular meeting, but of the Council of this Association, I should like to mention. Our Association is founded ostensibly, and I trust in reality, for the good of the people of India, and I should like, with the utmost temperance, but still with some directness, to express my conviction that in the agitation raised by the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Whitehead, and the Bishop of Bombay, these distinguished gentlemen have, so far as I understand their duties, gravely overstepped them. (Hear, hear.) The Bishop of an Anglican Church is appointed to supervise and control the operations of that peculiar and particular form of the Protestant faith of which he happens to be locally the head. He has no concern with missionary undertakings, and, if his missionary instincts are so warm that he feels he cannot remain silent in India on this question which is so near his heart, I think his duty is to decline an Indian bishopric. (Hear, hear.) Dr. Welldon was a very accomplished and popular Master of Harrow. I was at Harrow the last Speech Day, and witnessed the very cordial ovation which he received from the old and present boys. But when a schoolmaster is elevated, as he too often is, to a bishopric, he is apt to forget that he has ceased to be a pedagogue. I do not think that the speeches or opinions of Dr. Welldon will have any effect on the assured policy of the Government of India, which is to maintain an absolute equality and impartiality in all matters regarding religious opinion. (Hear, hear.) In regard to the subject of this lecture, I would further like to say that the idea of introducing religious teaching,

\* See paper elsewhere in this Review.

dogmatic or non-dogmatic, into education is a retrograde one. The tendency of modern thought is to separate, as far as possible, religious from secular education, and there is no reason why in India we should attempt to adopt a policy which we are every day abandoning in England. I think the manner in which we are handicapped to-day in England is largely due to the fact that the head-masterships of all our great public schools are in the hands of the clergy. (Hear, hear.) I would very much rather see them in the hands of laymen who were not so absolutely bound by tradition, and especially by classical tradition, and then, I think, we should see a very much better place taken by England in the competition of to-day. (Hear, hear.) But this is not the only point in question. I think that when these Bishops speak of the atheism and immorality which is the result of the secular teaching of the British Government in India, they are speaking of a thing of which they are very imperfectly informed. (Hear, hear.) What is the direct result of secular teaching in India? Does it make for atheism? Nothing of the sort. ("No!") The teaching of modern science has a tendency to disintegrate and destroy all those elementary, and often puerile, superstitions which have attached themselves in popular belief to the monotheism of the Hindu creed; but it has done precisely the same in Europe and with Christianity, where it has swept away in the minds of most thinking people all those old myths which had descended from the early Jewish theology, and which were at one time a part of the faith of almost all Christian people. Scientific teaching has purified the Hindu creed, and has not made it atheistic. Hinduism, as understood by the best and most learned Hindus, is a monotheistic creed of a very high ethical value. When I look back upon my life in India, and remember the thousands of good friends I have left there amongst all classes of the native community, honourable, industrious, orderly, law-abiding, sober, moral men, I wonder, when I look over England, whether there is anything in Christianity which can give a higher moral tone than the creed which is now professed by a very large majority of the people of India. (Hear, hear.) I do not see it in London society; I do not see it in the slums of the East End; I do not see it on the London Stock Exchange. I think the morality of India will compare very honourably with that of any country in Western Europe. (Hear, hear.) I hope I have not spoken with too much heat. I desire to express my thanks for the eloquent lecture we have heard, and to say that the one point which struck me as of the greatest truth and force was where our lecturer laid stress on the fact that the secular education given by the British Government to the people of India comprised in the masterpieces of English literature of the past an ethical instruction which was unsurpassed in the best creeds which have ever existed. You have there daily set up a high moral standard for the boys in Indian schools, one which will not tend to atheism, but to a rational monotheism supported by a true and strong appeal to honourable sentiment and to worthy and moral conduct. (Applause.)

MR. S. S. THORBURN said Dr. Duncan had confined himself to one aspect of his very large subject. He (Mr. Thorburn) had hoped, when in June last Mr. Maconachie advocated the teaching of Christianity

without Christ in the Government schools of India, and had found no support in the discussion which followed, that the question would have been allowed to rest ; but it was evident that the Metropolitan of India and the Bishop of Bombay did not intend that it should. Until the leaders of the competing creeds of India met and prepared a common divinity text-book, and recommended it to the Government of India for introduction into its schools, he was certain the Government would not move from the sound and wise policy which, for the last forty years, had actuated it. Such a concordat could not be expected before the Greek Kalends. If in Christian England there was much controversy upon the form and quality of the religious instruction to be imparted in Board Schools, one could easily see how impossible it would be, in so-called Heathen India, that Hindus, Mohammedans, and Christians should agree as to what sort of religious instruction should be imparted in the schools there. Upon the broad question as to whether the educational system in India was a success or a failure, the answer depended upon whether it fitted boys for the business of life and taught them to be good citizens. It seemed to him that the system fell short of success in several respects. For instance, it practically failed to get at the mass of the population, the agriculturists and their dependents, and it annually turned out great crowds of boys with no convictions except that the Government selfishly and unjustly denied to them openings commensurate in their opinions with their attainments and expectations. Of course, only a very small fraction of the partially educated youth of India went through a University course. Most boys left school at about fifteen or sixteen, an age when English boys were beginning to derive the most advantage from their education. Indian parents, being very poor, withdrew their boys from school as soon as they were able to earn a few rupees. If a boy got seven or eight rupees a month, the parent was satisfied, but the boy was discontented. During the rest of his life he only read the vernacular press, which abounded in every town of India. The editors, as a rule, were clever men who had failed to get good appointments under Government. Many had first tried the law as a profession, and, failing at that, had finally taken to journalism. Naturally their tone was anti-Government and anti-British. When not preaching veiled sedition, they depreciated the doings of English officers. There were, of course, honourable exceptions. Mr. Thorburn thought, were the Government to start in each province a newspaper of its own, and to sell it very much below cost price, its circulation would be immense, and the out-of-school benefit to the youth of India would be very great. The editors would have to be selected men, and the Government would have to give them ample information which would be served up to suit all readers in an interesting and useful way. The cost to Government, whether one or several lakhs a year, would be more than repaid in the extended diffusion of knowledge and the juster appreciation of the aims and actions of the Government. By no other way that he could think of could the Government so cheaply and effectively bring home to the immature products of our educational system, and to Indians generally, the advantages of being citizens of the British Empire.

MR. J. D. REES expressed his satisfaction with the eloquent address of the able Director of Public Instruction, who had introduced into a vexed and troubled department the precious principle of continuity. Few men could have done more than he to answer in the affirmative the question asked at the end of his paper: "May it not be that the despised secular education has been one, and not the least, of the influences that have been making for righteousness?" No person in India could speak with greater authority on this matter than the Director of Public Instruction. The question could be better answered from Madras than from any other part of India, because three-fourths of the Christians in India lived in the Madras Presidency, and three-fourths of that three-fourths lived on the Malabar coast. He hesitated to deal with the subject, because he could not do so with the same authority as their talented Chairman, but it did appear to him that the Bishop of Calcutta was necessarily a rather indifferent authority upon the subject of which he had been put forward as the most authoritative exponent. Bishop Whitehead, or anyone who had seen Madras, where the missions flourished, would be better able to speak on the subject. Having lived among them for many years, he thought that, however excellent mission education had been, he would not hesitate to answer in the affirmative the question which Dr. Duncan asked. It was with particular satisfaction that he had lately seen a speech of Sir Arthur Havelock to the same effect as that of the Chairman, pointing out that there was a very high morality among the Indians, and that the alternative offered by Bishop Welldon of Christianity or atheism was an untenable position. Lord Curzon, in his latest speech, had said that the best man was not the best imitator of the English, but the man who best maintained high ideals and threw off any excrescence which had accrued to his own faith. Dr. Duncan had said that the morality of the Government was at the root of the success of their administration. He believed that to be perfectly true. Sir Anthony MacDonald wrote to the Government of India and drew from them an authoritative answer to the effect that it never was contemplated to introduce the teaching of the Bible in the Government schools in India. He did not know that they would all agree with one matter to which Dr. Duncan referred, and that was that, not only literature, but science, reflected the truth of Christianity. He hoped that science would be relegated to a back place, because he thought the study of science was not beneficial to the Indian youths, and resulted in a tendency to be unpractical and speculative. He repudiated the assumption that there was only the alternative of atheism or immorality, or that immorality was a thing to which the Indian people naturally tended. In this respect and in other respects he expressed his entire concurrence with what had fallen from the Chairman.

SIR CHARLES STEVENS said he had consented to say a few words because it was not, after all, exclusively a Madras question, and he thought when there was such a preponderance of Madras authority there present, even the humble Province of Bengal might say a word. It was impossible not to agree with what had been said regarding Bishop Welldon's utterances. It was a conspicuous instance of the danger of unnecessary prophecy.

Bishop Welldon had said : " It is possible, I will not say more, that before the new-born century passes to its grave the Government will feel able to enter upon a more religious educational policy." Such a remark, he thought, might well have been postponed till the time came. The words themselves conveyed an intimation that, undoubtedly at the present time, even in Bishop Welldon's opinion, such a policy as that suggested would be utterly unsuitable, and, taken in that way, the words were not so very alarming ; but, unfortunately, they were such as to lead to the suspicion that that was the object to which the Government would be working up. Undoubtedly, had Bishop Welldon known a little more of Indian character, and how quick they were to draw conclusions, especially when they felt that their religion or social institutions were in danger, he would have paused before using these words. He could give an instance of how sensitive the natives were. In an ancient Hindu city, in a district in which he was Magistrate and Collector, the pupils assembled to study law and philosophy, from all parts of India. The provision for English education used to be a mission-school. The Missionary Society determined to dispense with the head or second master, who was a Hindu, and to put a Christian in his place, the immediate result being that the school was almost entirely deserted. The lecturer referred to the results of the present system in this matter. He (Sir Charles Stevens) was at one with the lecturer. It had been his lot to mix very freely with the natives of Bengal, both Hindus and Mohammedans. He had had to employ native gentlemen in various capacities, and he could give his testimony to their all but uniform honesty and conscientiousness. Of course, in any body of men exceptions might be found. They should also consider what the natives themselves said. Constantly they heard praise of men who had been educated in the modern system, not universal praise of their capacity, or even of their knowledge and learning, but of their honesty and trustworthiness. He begged to express his gratification at being allowed to be present and to hear so admirable a lecture.

MR. WAGLE claimed to stand before them to-day as one of those who took part in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Maconachie's paper a few months ago. He had no hesitation in saying that he fully agreed with the views expressed in the paper and by the previous speakers. The question under discussion was a very important one, not only as affecting the system of education in India, but as regards political matters. He was sure he was representing the views of all his countrymen when he said that the everlasting strength of the British rule in India lay in its non-interference with the religious customs or religious views of the country. (Hear, hear.) He had the highest respect for all the tenets of Christianity, because they were tenets which must be honoured by every enlightened mind. But what was the past religious history of the country? In all the religious systems which swayed the people of India, the religion was preached, not by physical or moral force, but by personal influence. He would say to enthusiasts who wished to spread the Christian religion in India, let them send a few people who would bring home to the Indians the lessons of humanity and charity. This great nation and other nations



of Europe had taken on themselves to spread Christianity all over the world. He felt bound to say that if people of the West went on exporting Christianity at this rate he was afraid there would be very little left for home consumption. (Hear, hear.) He did not say that the system of education in India did not require improvement. It certainly did. The best moral or religious education that could be imparted to the young in India was by the personal influence of the professors or teachers. There should, therefore, be sent the best people from this country. It had been a matter of great pain to him and to all his Indian friends that the officers of the Educational Department had been chosen from those who had failed to get other appointments in the Civil Service. Reform was necessary in that respect, in order to secure for India the best people this country could produce. There was very little to be said after what had fallen from the lecturer and other gentlemen, but, while Madras and Bengal were represented, he felt bound to say something for Bombay, from which he came.

MR. COKE introduced himself by saying that in the early days of the Educational Department he assisted, in the capacity of educational inspector in Bombay, in laying the foundations of the Government system of education, which then, as now, was opposed by many of the clergy—general as well as missionary—as wanting in the moral and religious element which they considered essential in any system of national education. A chaplain on the Bombay Establishment went so far as to say to him that he was surprised at any honourable man accepting such a position, as the effect of his duties would tend to deprive the missionaries of their chief means of converting the natives. It was not surprising that the missionary societies themselves should resent this action of the Government, and they carried their resentment so far that, when it was proposed to remunerate them by a system of payment by results for the secular education imparted in their schools, they all, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, declined in more or less discourteous terms to allow the Government officers to examine their schools; while the Roman Catholic bodies, who accepted the terms offered, received considerable grants from the public funds. When the late Sir Bartle Frere assumed the position of Governor of Bombay, a conference of missionaries from all parts of India approached him on the subject of the alleged illiberal treatment of missionary schools by the Bombay Educational Department. They wanted annual contributions from Government, to be spent as they thought fit; while the Department considered that such grants would be inconsistent with the principle of neutrality laid down in the educational minute. After full consideration, Sir Bartle Frere confirmed the action of his predecessor (Sir George Clerk), and a *modus vivendi* was arrived at by the appointment of a Commission, consisting of the late Sir Alexander Grant, Dr. Wilson (a highly-respected and eminent missionary), and himself, to revise the standards, which were then accepted by all the missionary societies. Since that time there has been little or no friction between the Government Educational Department and the missionary societies; but now Dr. Welldon has come upon the scene, and reopened the moral and religious question which has been dormant for forty years. He does so,

however, under this disadvantage as compared with his predecessors in the cause—viz., that the secular schools have been in operation long enough to prove the immense benefits conferred by them on the whole Indian community. Through the spread of education natives have been fitted to take higher positions in the Government service; they have entered the legal, medical, and engineering professions; some have become architects and contractors for great public works; and many have become managers of mills and superintendents of machinery. The enormous development which has taken place in India during the last fifty years could not have been accomplished except with the aid of the education imparted in Government schools and colleges. As to the moral and religious aspect of the question, his experience was the same as that of the Chairman. He had been brought into close contact with all classes of natives, and found them quite as sympathetic, charitable, and philanthropic as any Christian community. The well-to-do members of families supported the poorer members as a duty; there was no occasion for a Poor Law. The wealthy gave of their wealth to the foundation of schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, and domestic life was purer and more harmonious. The assertion that religious education in India, such as it is, had any beneficial effect upon moral character as compared with secular education was incapable of proof. On receiving an invitation to this meeting to hear a paper read on the subject, "Is the Education System of India a Failure?" and not knowing what might be the answer, he decided at some inconvenience to come here and give a decided negative. He was much impressed and gratified to find that the conclusions of the writer of this most admirable paper coincided with his own—viz., that secular education has conferred great benefits on the peoples of India. He was persuaded that as the attack of the Church Militant on the secular system some forty years ago subsided, so the present movement by the Bishops would be of that duration. (Applause.)

MR. PENNINGTON quite agreed with everything that had been said. He only wished to give an illustration from his own experience of what Dr. Duncan had said when he asked the question where the teachers were to come from. He had himself always been in favour of missionary schools and missionary enterprise, and must not be taken as prejudiced. He once, a long time ago, went into a missionary school, and was interested to find a Brahmin giving the religious lecture during the hour for Bible teaching. He stopped to listen, and what he heard was not pleasant. The Brahmin examined the boys exactly as he would on any other subject. He asked: "What is it that cleanses us from all sin?" Of course, the boys shouted out: "The blood of Christ." Religious education under such conditions was to him an absolutely ghastly mockery, and could only be demoralizing to everybody concerned. The teacher, of course, merely spoke professionally. He did not believe anything of the kind. He (Mr. Pennington) agreed with Mr. Wagle in what he had said on a previous occasion, to the effect that it was the indirect influence of the people who taught Christianity that was so important. Dogmatic instruction produced a good many heretics, some infidels, and perhaps a few atheists, but not

many Christians. An old Scotch friend of his in Tinnevely used to say that he had had so much religious instruction in his youth that it would last him all his life, and he would have no more of it.

MR. MARTIN WOOD desired to ask Dr. Duncan to refer to one essential part of the question as to what had been done. He had said that there had been progress made in connection with vernacular and indigenous instruction since 1882. There had been, he thought, a tendency to give more scope in the higher branches of education to vernacular education, and he thought perhaps the lecturer would be able to give an answer to that.

MR. COKE asked Dr. Duncan to inform them whether there was any educational revenue in Madras—apart from the Imperial grant, whether there were any local funds available.

DR. DUNCAN said with regard to the question of vernacular education, it was at present receiving more than usual attention, and every effort was being made to encourage the spread of education in the vernacular in elementary and other schools. With regard to the question about funds, there was the provincial grant for education, and, in addition to that, the local boards and municipalities were obliged to set apart a certain percentage of their revenue for elementary education in districts, and for elementary and somewhat higher education in municipalities. That was budgeted for every year, and, under the advice of the Director of Public Instruction, the Government insisted upon a certain amount of money being set apart by those bodies for that purpose. He had only to thank them for the very kind and careful attention they had given to him.

The CHAIRMAN said it was his pleasant duty to invite them to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his exceedingly interesting paper. As chairman of the Council, he desired to say that, while he regretted that the limits of the paper were not rather more distinctly stated, so as to confine the speeches to the special point of the lecture, he hoped that some of the gentlemen who had spoken so well to-day would give the Association a paper on some of the many subjects which were not touched upon by the lecturer. No subject was so important for India at the present day as education. It had been conducted hitherto, he thought, in a somewhat slipshod and unsatisfactory manner. If they could get a good paper on the subject by a man like Mr. Wagle, who had spoken, as he always spoke, so well and so moderately, it would be a very great help.

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings then terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## STORAGE OF WATER AND IRRIGATION IN INDIA.

SIR,

Having been in charge of the Tanjore district for the last three years of my service, during which time it was visited by one of the most disastrous floods on record, and towards the close of which also the great work of Sir Arthur Cotton was at last practically completed by the construction of the magnificent regulating works at the head of the Cauvery, which would have saved the Government and the people so many lacs if they had only been completed before the flood came, I may, perhaps, be excused if I venture to say a few words as to the incalculable value of irrigation works and the urgent need that still exists for storing water all over India.

2. As an engineer, of course my qualifications are *nil*; but I have lived in the paddy fields of several districts for about twelve years, and spent nearly half my official life on the banks of the beautiful Tambraparni, a river which has, I imagine, been more thoroughly utilized (thanks to the indomitable energy of my old collector, R. K. Puckle) than any other in India, as it is probably the most valuable river for its size in all India, so that I may fairly claim to know something of irrigation and its effects on the country generally.

3. "The natural sources of water everywhere are the rain and the snow that fall on the surface of the earth." The problem in India is to conserve as much as possible of that water for the use of man and beast; and the great enemies we have to contend against are excessive evaporation and disastrous floods. Our main objects, therefore, are to get the ground to hold as much water as possible, to prevent evaporation, and to divert flood-water into artificial reservoirs or canals, and so distribute it over the country wherever it is most wanted.

4. Mr. Innes, one of the most distinguished of Madras officials, has shown with a fulness that leaves nothing to be desired\* that the first thing required to induce the rain to fall on the hills, and to enable the ground to retain it when it falls, is the existence of forests. The conservation of forests, therefore, and the afforestation of waste land which has been denuded in the course of centuries are everywhere the first steps towards famine prevention, and it is satisfactory to know that for the last thirty or forty years, at any rate, forest conservancy has been receiving ever-increasing attention from the Government of India and its skilled advisers, so that we are justified in hoping that everything that can be done is being done, and that a matter of such supreme importance as reafforestation will no longer be neglected, as Mr. Innes says it has been. To quote from the Rev. J. D. Bate's alarming note on p. 405 of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October: "Till the forests are restored the rains will be irregular and

\* *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1901, p. 33.

insufficient, and famines, with their concomitant epidemics, will continue to embarrass the Government, to deplete our resources, and to embitter the social life of the masses of the people."

5. All the water that percolates into the earth can be tapped by shallow or deep wells and utilized where it is wanted. We can hardly have too much of it in most parts of India, and however much is abstracted in this way from the clouds, there will always be an enormous superabundance in times of flood. It is the business of the engineer, as the late lamented General Cotton says, to divert as much of this superabundant flood-water as can be prevented from flowing uselessly to the sea.

6. General Cotton has added one more to the long list of benefits India owes to the men of his name in his most useful little pamphlet.\* What might not be accomplished for India if every Anglo-Indian at the age of ninety-four were equally persistent and equally clear-headed !

7. For my part, I agree so entirely with almost everything he says that I can find little to criticise, except his criticism of the unfortunate revenue officer. From his selecting only three of them as sound on irrigation, one might suppose he had forgotten that Sir Charles Trevelyan also was a civilian ; and, speaking of my own knowledge, I may observe that the only two collectors under whom I served were quite as enthusiastic irrigationists as any engineer, so that I can answer for three more enthusiasts (including myself) in my comparatively small experience.

8. Expenditure on irrigation may be usefully contrasted with what is spent on the realization of the salt revenue. The salt tax no doubt produces a very considerable revenue with gratifying certainty, just as a poll-tax would ; but it is an entirely indefensible tax, because the mischief it does is so widespread and so subtle as to be literally incalculable, so that the money spent on collecting it is probably worse than wasted ; whereas it seems almost impossible to spend too much in extending irrigation of all kinds, even without the justification of a certain direct revenue resulting from it, because the benefits it confers directly on the country and indirectly on the Government are so amazingly diffused as to be equally incalculable.

9. As General Rundall so well observed before the Society of Arts : "Water ought certainly to be looked upon as *national property*," even if the land cannot everywhere be completely nationalized at once, and every drop that can be caught should be stored for use as the most precious possession of the Government. General Cotton advocates especially the storage of the surplus flood-water in huge reservoirs, canals for irrigation, navigation, or both, and would have money freely spent to secure cheap water-carriage and the protection of large tracts of country from famine, pointing out that this has been done to some extent in Madras, and is being done now in the Punjab on a large scale. The works on the Cauvery and Godavery rivers, constructed in great part by the late Sir Arthur Cotton, irrigate some two million acres, and have converted some very poor tracts of country into the granaries of the south. Similar works

\* See "A Letter and Two other Papers on the Value of the Great Rivers of India," by Major-General F. C. Cotton, C.S.I. (Rivingtons, London.)

on the Chenab in the north are designed to irrigate some two and a half millions of acres of waterless desert where hitherto nothing has grown.

10. People who write about India without sufficient knowledge of the subject constantly charge the Government with neglect of irrigation; and I would not be understood to mean that much more money might not have been spent with advantage in this way, as General Cotton also says; but, even so, it is only fair to give the Government credit for the immense success with which magnificent works have been constructed in spite of extraordinary difficulties of all kinds, and it may be worth while to put permanently on record some figures extracted from the *Times* of August 22 to show what has been accomplished so far. It appears from the paper quoted by the *Times* that twenty-two of the large productive works rendered a net revenue of 9.52 per cent., while thirteen others only yielded .79 per cent., and so reduced the average of the whole to 7 per cent. The total area irrigated by these works was over *eighteen and a half million acres*, more than 8½ per cent. of the whole cultivated area, and an increase of *three-quarters of a million acres* over the figures of the previous year. This increase occurred chiefly in the Punjab, where the area irrigated exceeded all previous records by 300,000 acres, and the net return to the capital expended was 10.24 per cent. It is in the Punjab that there is the chief scope for irrigation works now, and it is significant that the total surplus revenue earned since irrigation works were first undertaken by Government has been nearly *ten millions sterling*—all due to General Cotton's more famous brother Arthur.

11. The recent appointment of such an enthusiastic expert in irrigation as Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff to report on what can be done further is a proof of the unremitting attention paid to the subject by the much-abused Government of India, and we may hope that Sir Arthur Cotton's gigantic and comprehensive proposals for the irrigation of all India that is irrigable may at last be considered in a thoroughly sympathetic spirit. Sir Colin will, I am sure, not forget that natural reservoirs in the shape of forests are perhaps quite as essential to the country as great artificial lakes.

12. All these works, however, are only intended to deal with the ordinary flow of the rivers; for, when a flood comes, it is in such volume that hardly a ripple marks the spots where the great masonry dams cross the rivers. In proposing to store this flood-water, or as much of it as can be diverted, General Cotton would treat the great rivers very much as the smaller streams of Southern India, such as the Vygay and the Tambraparni, have already been treated. The water of these rivers is diverted into canals at distances of a few miles apart throughout their entire length, so that each stream may be crossed by seven or eight (or more) dams in its length of eighty to a hundred miles, and these dams divert every drop of surface-water from the ordinary flow of these rivers; but here, as elsewhere, the great floods of the monsoon are only very partially checked in their course. The application of some such system to the larger rivers may be possible if funds are available, and on this point General Cotton very properly insists that it is not the percentage returns from the money

expended that is the only point to consider, for the cheap transit of goods by canal, protection from famine and the increased wealth of the country are matters of far greater import than the mere revenue. If these objects can be attained, and from his long Indian experience he is fully convinced that they can, we may hope that some comprehensive scheme for the treatment of the larger rivers may yet be brought forward, so as to secure an ever-increasing portion of the surplus water that now finds its way uselessly to the sea.

13. As to the financial aspect of the question, it is safe to say that no revenue officer is so stupid as not to know that the value of the crop is to be taken into consideration in estimating the real value of an irrigation work; but when Government borrows money to improve the irrigation of a particular tract of land, it is bound to see that the owners of the land so directly benefited pay the fair interest on the money borrowed in the shape of extra assessment. It would surely not be reasonable to tax the whole country for the exclusive benefit of a comparatively few, but it is equally true that it is not necessary to charge them more than the rate at which the money was actually borrowed. If the Government can make sure of getting back the bare interest on such capital, there need be no hesitation about borrowing freely for irrigation works, because the incidental benefits are sure to be enormous, and the Government will have their abundant reward in the increased taxable capacity of the people and the general prosperity of the country. All this seems obvious enough, but is too often ignored by an enthusiastic engineer like General Cotton. It is all a matter of account.

14. The misfortune about the Kurnool Canal scheme was that the company had not money enough to make it complete with distributing channels, etc., and, as a navigation canal, it was not calculated, in its present half-finished condition, to be of much use, as it began nowhere and ended nowhere. Personally, I cannot help thinking it might have been better to complete it, both for navigation and irrigation, and trust to recovering the interest as traffic developed, as in the case of railways; but it was not unreasonable to think otherwise. Judging from actual experience in Tinnevely—certainly a much more go-ahead place than Kurnool—there would never be any great difficulty in raising money *locally* for any irrigation work that really inspired confidence. A few such cases (among many) are briefly alluded to by Mr. Puckle in his report on the settlement of that district in 1868, where he says in a marginal note to paragraph 86: "Within the last two years the parties concerned have subscribed Rs. 40,000 for the Pudugudi channel, Rs. 12,000 for the Virdupati tank, Rs. 5,000 for the Tinnevely tank, and Rs. 2,000 for the Chintamani channel; and, as I write, the Kilnattam people have brought Rs. 1,500 and begged me to aid in improving their tank."

15. The argument against irrigation that it increases population, and that over-population is a cause of famine, is, as General Cotton says, quite beneath contempt. It cannot be too often repeated that it is *not* the highly assessed, densely populated parts of India, like the Combaconum Taluq in Tanjore with a population of 1,200 to the square mile, that suffer in

times of scarcity. They are highly assessed and populous because they are not only safe from famine but uniformly prosperous.

16. General Cotton compares irrigation with gold-mines, and not unreasonably; but gold-mining (*auri sacra fames*) is notoriously degrading, whereas to irrigate the thirsty land, and to grow crops where none grew before, is truly ennobling and fascinating beyond all other work of the kind.

17. Direct irrigation, however, without storage is always precarious. The valley of the Tambraparni is, perhaps, one of the most perfect examples of direct irrigation in the world; yet even the Tambraparni valley often suffers from the want of stored water, and a great reservoir in the hills has long been a desideratum.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

#### "POVERTY AND UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA."\*

1. It is impossible not to sympathize with Mr. Dadabhai's persistent and, I have no doubt, thoroughly patriotic efforts to improve the Government of India, however much we may doubt the wisdom of the methods he adopts. I, at any rate, am by no means so certain as I should like to be that the continual drain of wealth from India is compatible with the real prosperity of the country, and though I may be convinced by the evidence of my senses that the condition of the country is slowly improving, in spite of the undoubted evil of foreign dominion and the more frequent famines, there can be no doubt that the progress is extremely slow, and Mr. Dadabhai's arguments that the present system of "bleeding" it must end in disaster are strong enough to cause anyone interested in the country many a sleepless night, though not, I hope, to prove that our connection with India is "the most gigantic blunder of which there is any record in history." Is it really the case that Mr. Dadabhai himself and his fellow Parsees, for instance, are so downtrodden and poverty-stricken under British rule as would appear from his complaint of "our" (dreadful) "fate"? (p. 393).

2. But the "Poverty of India" is too large a subject for a brief note like this, and I have already said elsewhere all I care to say on the subject at present, so that I will confine myself here to his proposed remedies, merely protesting by the way against his habit of imputing the worst motives to those who, being responsible for the peace of India, take a different view of what is possible in the way of employing more natives in the Administration. Considering the racial prejudices which are in many parts of India so very strong, and which undoubtedly make the task of those entrusted with the government even more difficult than it need be, I am not prepared to admit that the Government has not "honestly" endeavoured to carry out the pledges solemnly made by the (late) Queen and Parliament.

3. No one can read Mr. Dadabhai's correspondence with the War Office and the Admiralty without a feeling of humiliation at the "shifty" style in which it was conducted on the official side. How much better it would have been to say at once that though "no native of India is to be disabled

\* By Dadabhai Naoroji (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1901).



from holding any place, office, or emolument under the Crown *merely* by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them," yet for the present it is absolutely necessary to consider how far it is expedient to place a native of India in a position to command English soldiers or sailors. It is *not* on account of his religion, etc., or even his colour, that he is excluded; but simply because, prejudices being so strong, it is not safe for him or the country to put him in such a position. It is, unfortunately, a question of "caste," and Mr. Dadabhai must know himself how difficult it has been even for the native members of the Civil Service to hold their own in personal intercourse with their European brethren in India. Men like Ranjitsinghi, who have fairly beaten Englishmen on their own ground and with their own favourite weapons, may, it is to be hoped, bring about a salutary change in the absurd idea of racial superiority, and make Englishmen more ready to admit that men of other races who have proved their fitness are entitled to take a larger part in the actual government of their own country; but practical men who are always treading *suppositos per ignes* must needs be careful how they stir up even unreasonable prejudices. The history of the Ilbert case proves, at any rate, that such prejudices are no light matter, and though every right-minded and thoughtful man must agree with Sir Thomas Munro and all our most successful administrators that it would be quite impossible to govern the country at all if we are to make it a rule to exclude the natives from even the very highest posts, yet at the same time it is surely obvious—in fact, Mr. Dadabhai himself admits—that a backing of Europeans is absolutely necessary as yet, even in the Civil Service, and much more so in the Army and Navy, so that the only real question for practical men is as to the minimum number of Europeans required in each Service. Why does not Mr. Dadabhai estimate the number he thinks absolutely necessary for the whole of India, and show the saving he could effect in that way in the Home charges? In my last district, with a population of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  millions, I had (generally) three English assistants, one of whom, as learning boy, was rather more of an anxiety than of any real assistance to me; but on one occasion, when there was some fresh question of reducing establishments, I thought of proposing to carry on the work with *one* experienced assistant. It would have been quite feasible to do so, and, with the excellent native assistants we have nowadays, I dare say the work would have been done quite as well; but there were many obvious objections, and the experiment was never tried.

4. Mr. Dadabhai is continually repeating that if the "solemn pledges" made by H.M. the (late) Queen on several occasions were "honestly" fulfilled, the natives of India would have no further cause of complaint; but he never explains exactly what he means, or (exactly) how he thinks they could be more rapidly fulfilled than is being done with due regard to the safety of the country. *Salus populi suprema lex*, and Mr. Dadabhai knows, as well as any of us, that without a strong backing of Europeans in India there would be no safety for anyone, nor would the Hindu or Parsee remain long in any position of dignity to which we might prematurely raise him.

5. Surely the case is simple enough, without imputing the worst of motives to those who are from time to time entrusted with the very grave responsibility of governing a country of 300 millions, who are not all mild Hindus and Parsees. Foreign dominion is the *fons et origo mali*, and consequently it is unfortunately *inevitable* that "India," as Lord Salisbury said in a phrase which has been so shamefully misquoted to his discredit, "must be bled." It is the proper business of a practical statesman, such as Mr. Dadabhai, to do what in him lies to reduce the bleeding process as much as possible. No doubt, as he somewhere suggests, we ought all to spend our pensions in India, but there are obvious difficulties in our way, and why does he not set us a better example? He himself seems to be an example of a quite voluntary "drain" to England in a small way.

6. It was all very well for irresponsible young orators like Macaulay to lay down, in what Lord Lytton justly calls vague and "indefinite" language, the noble principles on which India was to be governed. "The moral lies," as Captain Cuttle says, "in the application thereof" to practical politics; and I contend that, *on the whole*, the Government of India has consistently endeavoured to act on those great principles. Even the Members of Parliament quoted by Mr. Dadabhai always qualified their eloquent accounts of an ideal policy by such expressions as Sir Robert Peel's—namely, that all our efforts to improve the country must be "consistent with the safety and security of our dominions." Macaulay himself was "far, very far, from wishing to proceed hastily in this delicate matter," and felt that "for the good of India itself the admission of natives to high office must be effected *by slow degrees*." Practical politicians do not say—*fiat justitia, ruat cælum*; they consider how far they can bring about equality amongst their fellow-citizens without involving the country in some overwhelming catastrophe, and are bound rather to follow the conservative motto, *festina lente*; so that even Her (late) Most Gracious Majesty was careful to qualify the proclamation, to which Mr. Dadabhai always refers as a sort of Magna Charta, with the restrictive words "*as far as may be*"; but all these reasonable provisos Mr. Dadabhai studiously ignores.

7. On the second question of justice to India he is himself unjust to the Government of India in his extreme anxiety to conciliate—I had almost said "curry favour with"—the democracy of England; for, as he shows in his letter to Lord Welby, No. 4, dated February 15, 1896, it is the English people, as represented by the English Parliament and the English Government, that have so often been guilty of the meanest conduct financially in their treatment of India, and that in spite of the most strenuous protests of the Indian Government. Let us put the saddle on the right horse, and say that it is the English Parliament that has been guilty of most of the "tyranny, injustice, 'bleeding,' hypocrisy, and plundering" of which Mr. Dadabhai complains so bitterly, and certainly not without good cause.

8. On the whole, however, much as one may disagree with him on matters of detail, one cannot but be grateful for such a convenient

collection of valuable papers—repetitions notwithstanding—and may well conclude with the hope that some further substantial advance may soon be made on the road towards the complete emancipation of the native of India, for certainly the present position cannot last; the native must sooner or later be admitted to the full rights of citizenship, and the sooner it is found possible to give him a far larger share in the government, the better it will be for the country. How otherwise can we claim for him equal rights in South Africa?

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*December, 1901.*

### ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF INDIA.

A society has been organized bearing the title "The International Association for the Archæological Exploration of India." There is a General Committee in London (22, Albemarle Street), as well as local committees in America, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia.

The objects, origin, and constitution of the Association, as drawn up by the Committee, are as follows:

Our great Eastern possession, India, cannot claim a historical antiquity reaching so far into the past as that of Egypt does, nor does it possess the special interest which attaches to Palestine as the birthplace of our national religion, and the ancient people of it have not bequeathed to us, as those of Greece and Italy did, authentic historical compilations from which we can put together a definite, connected, and reliable account of them and of their country. Still, it has a very ancient past, the history of which is both intensely interesting and of great importance. The earliest origins of that past date back to a prehistoric period, in respect of which we can do little but gather vague hints, from the Vedas and other sacred writings connected with them, regarding the gradual immigration of the Indian branch of the Aryan race into Hindustan, and regarding the state of civilization which they developed in the course of their progress into that land. There is, however, a somewhat later period, from the seventh century B.C., with which we can deal in a far more definite manner, and of which we have every prospect of eventually obtaining a very clear and detailed knowledge. From about B.C. 320, the time of the great Indian King Chandragupta, the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, by whom India was invaded, the dynasties can be traced in succession.

The Greeks, the Chinese, and the Arabs, all felt the great attraction of India in the past, and have handed down to us most valuable memoirs as the results of their travels through the land. We learn much from them about ancient India. But we learn more, and have still more to learn, from the relics which exist in India itself, in the shape of its inscriptions, its coins, its cave-temples, its ancient burying-places, and its structural religious buildings.

The study of the antiquities of India first practically attracted the attention of British scholars towards the end of the eighteenth century.

It was not, indeed, until well on into the nineteenth century that it was placed on a thoroughly scientific basis by the labours of the well-known Mr. James Prinsep, who first succeeded in deciphering the characters, mastering the language, and extracting the meaning of the then earliest known inscriptional remains—the edicts, published on rocks and pillars, and specially directed to the official propagation of Buddhism, of King Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta. From the days of Mr. Prinsep, more and more scholars—with, from time to time, better qualifications, derived from the experiences of their predecessors—have joined in the work, from Great Britain, from France, from Germany, from Italy, and even from Russia and America, in all of which countries there are enthusiastic students of the languages, religions, and philosophies of India. And now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, we can point with satisfaction and pride to a very considerable and substantial progress in our acquaintance with the ancient past of India. We have now a very full knowledge, derived chiefly from the inscriptional remains, of the political history of India from about A.D. 350 onwards, and from the same sources, with the help of numismatic researches, we have a fair idea of it in outline from that point back to about three centuries before the Christian era.

It need hardly be said that, though much has been done by private energy and enterprise, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have not failed to recognise the value of the researches that have been made, and to give, as far as possible, official encouragement and support to them. And to that end they now maintain, at a considerable cost, Archæological Surveys for the exploration of the country and the preservation of its most typical remains, and an Epigraphic staff for the collection of the inscriptional materials, and a special journal, the *Epigraphia Indica*, for the publication of inscriptions.

But the Government cannot do everything that is needed, either for the full attainment of our general ends, or to meet the special wishes of those who are more closely interested in separate individual lines of study. It has been found necessary in particular, in order to carry our researches further back, that we should explore ruined cities and excavate other ancient sites. Such excavations have been as yet scarcely carried out in India at all, and as the country advances in population and national development, the monuments of ancient civilization are exposed to a growing danger of injury or obliteration. For their discovery and excavation there is an urgent need of funds, to an extent beyond that for which the Government, consistently with the various other demands that are made upon their resources, are able to provide; and, as has been very plainly evidenced by a recent extensive movement on the part of European savants who are interested in the past of India, the time has come when something substantial must be done to supplement the Government arrangements.

The matter has been a subject of careful consideration among the leading scholars of Europe for the last three or four years. A particular amount of attention was devoted to it at the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists, which was held at Rome in October, 1899, and

the matter was then taken so far that the establishment of an International India Exploration Society was formally announced. The scheme, as originally formulated by the Paris Congress of 1897, was submitted to the Government of India; and the Viceroy in Council, in his reply (dated July 14, 1898), heartily welcomed the scheme as being in full accord with views already expressed by the Government, and undertook to afford to the Association, if constituted, every assistance in his power.

The leading features of the scheme are as follows: The Society is an International Society, which will appeal for funds to the patrons of historical studies throughout the whole of Europe and in America. There are to be Local Committees in all those foreign countries which are interested in the matter, as well as in Great Britain; and there will be in Great Britain a Central Committee or Council, which will consist of delegates from the Local Committee in Great Britain and of the Chairmen of the foreign Local Committees, under the presidency of the President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Funds will be collected by the Local Committees, and will be sent to the Central Committee, with a statement of the special wishes of subscribers regarding the objects on which the sums collected should be spent. The Central Committee will consider those wishes, and will communicate its report, with information as to the amounts available, to the Government of India. And the proper carrying out of the excavations under trained and qualified Archæological Surveyors, and the suitable disposal of everything that may be discovered, will be arranged for in co-operation with the Government of India.

The Local Committees in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, America, Russia, and Great Britain have been organized; and we have now, by enlisting the practical support of patrons here, to take the lead in the collection of funds, and to give support and encouragement to what is being done abroad.

#### EXAMPLES OF SITES WHERE EXCAVATION IS DESIRABLE.

- ✱ 1. *Takshila*, described by Arrian and Pliny as a great, wealthy, and famous city, was already in the seventh century B.C. one of the most important centres of national life in India. Not only was it a great trading centre, but also the recognised seat of learning, to which men of all ranks resorted from all parts of Northern India. Mere surface prospecting carried out there has already resulted in discoveries of great historical value.
- ✱ 2. *Sāgala*, which offered so brave a resistance to Alexander, and was afterwards the capital of Menander, the Greek King of Bactria, and the Milinda of Indian tradition.
- 3. *Patna-Pāṭaliputta*, the ancient capital of the Nanda, Maurya, and Gupta dynasties from the fifth to the second century B.C.
- 4. *Vesālī*, the famous capital, much older than Pāṭaliputta, of the Licchavi clan.
- 5. *Ujjen*, the Ozēnē of the Greeks, an important city before the rise of Buddhism, the seat of Asoka's government as Viceroy, and afterwards the capital of Chashtana.

6. *The ruins in the Sakya country.* The splendid discoveries recently made at several of these ruins, and especially the very ancient inscriptions unearthed, go far to show that further excavations here would be fruitful in results.

Professor Bühler, in his article on "Indian Archæology" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1895, laid especial stress on the importance of a search for pre-Buddhistic remains. These may be found at any one of the sites just mentioned except Pāṭaliputta. Of ruins of a later period where excavation is urgently required, Mathura, Banawāsa and Vijayapura may be mentioned as examples.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., to whom subscriptions may be sent.

### ORIENTAL STUDIES, LONDON.

In our last issue (October, 1901, page 412) we announced that a Scholarship of £50 annually, tenable for two years, will be given for an examination in Persian. We have also the pleasure of announcing the following :

#### THE LEITNER PRIZE FOR ARABIC AT KING'S COLLEGE.

A prize of £5 in books is given annually for the encouragement of the study of Arabic by Mrs. E. T. Amery, in memory of the late Dr. G. W. Leitner, formerly Professor of Arabic at King's College and Dean of the Oriental Section.

The prize is awarded to the student who has most distinguished himself in Arabic during the academical year.

Should there be no candidate eligible to receive the prize in any year, the money will be added to that given in the following year, to be used partly for the purpose of awarding a Prize in books, and partly in payment of a portion of the fees of a student in Arabic who may be considered by the Principal of King's College to be deserving of such assistance.

The prize for last year was awarded to Miss Katharine Stobart. The examination comprised translations from and into Arabic, Grammar Questions, and *viva voce* examination.

For further particulars as to courses of Lectures on Oriental Languages, application should be made to the Secretaries of the School of Oriental Studies of the Imperial Institute, Kensington; or to King's College, London; or to University College, London.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE GOVERNMENT PRESS; ALLAHABAD, 1900.

1. *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, by M. S. HOWELL, C.I.E., LL.D., Indian Civil Service (ret.). As long ago as 1880 the first volume of this great work appeared, and even at the present time one volume yet remains to be published. The volume preceding the present one was reviewed in these pages seven years ago. It is truly a monumental work, as masterly in its treatment as it is comprehensive in its scope, and should prove to all advanced students of Arabic a repertory of sound learning not likely soon to be superseded.

In the present volume (which begins with chapter xii.) we have the treatment of "the NOUN" in a series of sections—the numeral noun (dealing with the numerals) and nouns abbreviated and nouns prolonged. We then have the nouns connected with verbs—the infinitive noun. Arising out of this is the subject of the active participle and the participial passive, together with the assimilate epithet and the nouns of time and place and the instrumental noun. Chapters xv. to xviii. deal respectively with the trilateral, the quadrilateral, and the quinqueliteral nouns, which brings this herculean work to p. 1813. The volume thus covers a great deal of ground, and passes in review the details of the grammar of the most complicated and recondite of all the Shemitic class of languages, and of one of the most intricate languages of ancient or modern time.

Dr. Howell's work is a treatise on that aspect of the Arabic language which is found in the classic literature—notably the Arabic of the Qorān and of the Moallaqāt, and the poets and prose-writers of the times subsequent to the rise of Islām. "For the Qorān may be said to have *created* a literature, and to have given life to a language which, but for the numerous commentaries and traditionary writings which resulted from the fervour of the early Muslims, would certainly have fallen into decadence, and possibly into oblivion. Anyhow, the history of the Arabic language during the last twelve centuries would have been very different from what it has if it had not been for the intense religious fervour awakened by the history and teachings of Muḥammad. It is to the Abrahamic sentiment of religion in the Arabian race that the conservation and culture of the classical and most finished form of the language analyzed in this elaborate work of Dr. Howell's is due.

It cannot be too clearly emphasized that "there is Arabic *and* Arabic." The classical Arabic differs very notably from the spoken Arabic, and the language of the time of Muḥammad and the writers of the golden poems from that of the colloquial Arabic of the market-place of the present day. The differences in pronunciation and in the idiom almost pass belief. And this is true also of the Arabic spoken in Egypt and in the countries to the West when compared with that of Arabia proper in the present day, and of the Muḥammadans of Persia, of India, and of the Turkish Empire. The work of Dr. Howell is, it will be noticed, restricted in its scope to the

style of Arabic spoken and written in what may be regarded as "the golden age" of the language.

The work is written in English, and the illustrations and examples are taken from the original text of the native writers—Zamakhshari, Ibnī Malik, Sibawaih, Ibn al Hajib, and the rest—all the examples being translated into English. The work is, therefore, designed more especially for the use of English students of Arabic. We ought to say, however, that it is far too advanced a book for beginners at the language; indeed, this work would not even be understood by any excepting those who have already mastered the elements of Arabic, and made some progress in it by studying some smaller and more manageable treatise. Considering the quantity of labour—as well of printer as author—embodied in this work, it is a marvel of cheapness. The quality, too, is high, and the treatise is undoubtedly an advance on the great work of Dr. Wright, which so long held the field. The price is such as to bring this invaluable work within the reach of the poorer class of Muḥammadan students whose acquaintance with English is equal to the task of using the work; and this was doubtless the benevolent reason why the Government at Allahabad undertook the patronage of it. It will, as we believe, be widely sought after by Oriental scholars in all the nations of Europe.

The statements and rules, even on the most abstruse and perplexing arcana of the language, are clear, finished and simple withal. They are consequently understood in a moment. This is the same as saying that the English of it is that of one who is master of his subject. This anent "the instrumental noun," for instance: "Sometimes the term is applied to what the act is done *in*, when it is such as is used for an instrument—like *Mihlabun*, 'a milk-pail.' The *Mihlabun* is not the *place* of milking, *that* being the *place* in which the milker sits to milk, but it is an instrument wherewith milking is effected." And so on all through the work. It is in this forceful simplicity of teaching that Dr. Howell's work excels the great work of Dr. Wright, in which the statements are sometimes obscurely expressed. Every statement is verified and sustained by a reference to some Arabian authority or by some example cited from some native writer of classical Arabic. A review of this monumental enterprise, in the nature of a comprehensive dissertation on the subject of classical Arabic in general, prefixed to the series of volumes, when completed by the learned author himself, would, we should imagine, be a most useful contribution in aid of every enthusiastic student of this polished and highly poetical language.—B.

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1901.

2. *The Life of Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, K.C.M.G., Royal Engineers*, by his son-in-law, WILLIAM KIRK DICKSON, with portraits, maps, and other illustrations. This is an interesting biography of an officer who has perhaps helped more to establish and maintain British prestige of late years in Persia than any other person outside the diplomatic circle. The book is practically divided into two parts. The first gives an account of his early life and his work in conjunction with Sir Charles



Newton's expedition to Budrum (Halicarnassus), with the object of finding the site of the celebrated Mausoleum, the results of which were that the British Museum secured some splendid sculptures and the great lion of Cnidus. The second, and not less interesting, part tells us of his life in Persia, his travels there, his family troubles, and the enormous difficulties he experienced, as responsible officer of the Telegraph Department, before he brought the Indo-European telegraphs into the state of high proficiency which has been maintained for the last twenty-eight years. This has lately resulted in the Shah signing a Convention with the British Government for the construction of a three-wire line from Kashān to British Baluchistan, viā Yezd, Kirmān and Bampur on the same favourable conditions as were granted in 1872 for the existing line between Teheran and the Persian Gulf. As a history of the establishment of telegraphs in Persia alone it is well worth reading.

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THE CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD, 1901.

3. *Asoka: the Buddhist Emperor of India*, by VINCENT A. SMITH. In the select group of renowned men whom the "Rulers of India" series introduces to the English reader, Asoka ought to have been given the first place, instead of having risked to be left out altogether. Thanks to Mr. V. A. Smith, this supplementary volume has now been issued after the series was closed. He has succeeded in rendering it most interesting, and has coupled with it much accurate and not easily accessible information. Asoka, who in his edicts adopts the title of Priyadarsin (the Humane), and who has been called the Buddhist Constantine, was one of the most remarkable men of ancient Indian history ; he succeeded in governing in peace a vast empire throughout a long reign (264 to 232 B.C.), the subjugation of Kalinga being the only war in his time. The tenth edict, published in the fourteenth year of his reign, has for its special subject the contrast between true glory and military renown. He organized Buddhism as the State religion, and transformed it from what was till then a mere local sect into a world religion. The chief principles of the faith are laid down in edicts which are still found graven on pillars and rocks throughout India. The text of the edicts is published with headings in order to facilitate the interpretation, and to bring out clearly the special subject to which each edict is devoted, viz. : Edict I., "The Sacredness of Life"; Edict II., "Provision of Comforts for Men and Animals," etc. In style and treatment of the subject this volume—the twenty-ninth of the interesting series—is equal to any of its predecessors.

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON ; LONDON, 1901.

4. *Australasia, Old and New*, by J. GRATTAN GREY, author of "His Island Home," etc. The first day of the century witnessed the birth of the Australian Commonwealth, and in the month of May last the first Parliament was opened in Melbourne by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, then Duke of Cornwall and York. The author presents his volume to the public at an opportune time, and the reader will derive much information

from it, as it gives the history of the continent from the earliest times to the present day. Mr. Grey, a long resident, gives a very lucid account of its affairs, with which the British public in general are unacquainted. He says: "With regard to the future of the Australian Commonwealth . . . I am convinced that long before this century draws to an end Australia will be an independent nation, politically and in all other respects. The grounds upon which I base this opinion will be ascertained by the reader."

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

5. *Assyrian Language*, by L. W. KING, M.A. This is volume v. of the series entitled "Books on Egypt and Chaldæa." These useful handbooks owe their origin as well to the enterprise of the publishers as to the industry and learning of the compilers, Dr. Wallis Budge and Mr. King, of the British Museum. The time is well within our recollection when the study of the cuneiform inscriptions was in some quarters scoffed at as a mere craze and as a profitless occupation of time and energy. The work of Sir Henry Rawlinson has long since enlisted the attention of scholars and awakened their enthusiasm, and is bearing fruit long after his departure. Quite a series of enterprising scholars have caught the infection of his enthusiasm, and Assyriology has now at length taken rank among acknowledged branches of research. The practical advantage of the study is obvious. The long-buried documents of the distant past are being unearthed; the *ipsissima verba* of Tiglath-Pileser, Darius, and Asshur-bani-pal are now in our possession; and while handling these inscriptions, and becoming acquainted with their contents, we seem to be within "handshaking distance" of the men who lived within the mysterious walls of ancient Babylon. By means of these inscriptions we may almost hear their voices, as by a phonograph, across the dim ages during which their glorious city has lain in "heaps." The work of Mr. King supplies us with a grammar of that ancient language, and also with a key to the alphabet and the inscriptions. The examples setting forth the structure of the language and the nature and import of the inscriptions are taken from the inscriptions themselves. We have first the original document transcribed, then it is transliterated into Roman letters, and then comes the translation into the English of to-day. The work is intended for beginners, and the moral effort of the enterprise will be to set before the earnest-minded seeker after truth most tangible and powerful evidence of the authenticity of the Bible narratives relating to Assyria and Babylon and Egypt.—B.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1901.

6. *Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society*, etc., by FRANCIS HENRY SKRINE, F.S.S., late His Majesty's Indian Service, author of "An Indian Journalist" and joint author of "The Heart of Asia," etc. Mr. Skrine has executed his affectionate task with great ability. The admirable biography speaks for itself in Sir William's letters to his wife before and

after their marriage and to the members of his family. It is a work which ought to be perused and studied by every Englishman who intends to enter an Indian career, to serve his country faithfully, to guard and promote the best interests of the natives, and to render a credit and an honour to English rule. It is impossible in the limited space at our disposal to enter into details of this invaluable volume. Suffice it to indicate a few of the works produced by Sir William's indefatigable and facile pen: "A History of British India" (vols. i. and ii.), "The Annals of Rural Bengal," "Orissa: the Vicissitudes of an Indian Province under Native and British Rule," "A Life of the Earl of Mayo," "The Indian Empire: its History, People, and Products," "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," "A Statistical Account of Bengal and Assam," "The Indian Musulmans," "Famine Aspects of Bengal Districts," "A Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson," "A Brief History of the Indian Peoples," "A Life of the Marquess of Dalhousie," "Bombay 1885 to 1890: a Study in Indian Administration," "The Old Missionary," "The Thackerays in India," and the brilliant articles in the *Times* which regularly appeared on current questions, and which, from his intimate and correct knowledge of the subject, contributed much to guide our statesmen at home with respect to legislation and administration. The work is accompanied with a minute index. He was buried at Cumnor on February 10, 1900, in the presence of his mourning relatives and representatives of the administration of India, literature, and commerce. The Vicar in the funeral sermon recalled "the unfailing courtesy to every rank, his wide sympathies, his readiness to give, his engaging cheerfulness, his compassion for the weak and helpless, and his love of children." The tombstone bears the following inscription: "In loving memory of Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., India's historian. His work still unfinished at the unexpected call of God, he rested from a life of ceaseless toil February 7, 1900, aged 59, at Oaken Holt, in the parish. He was buried near this church in great love and honour from far and near, amid much sorrow, to await the blessed reunion yet to be."

7. *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, by H. F. B. LYNCH, with 197 illustrations, reproduced from photographs and sketches by the author. Numerous maps and plans, a bibliography, and a map of Armenia and adjacent countries. Vol. II. We noticed\* at considerable length the contents of Vol. I., which comprises the Russian Provinces of Armenia. The present volume deals with the *Turkish Provinces*. Nothing can surpass the execution and beauty of the plates and illustrations in the text of places and peoples. There is a very interesting illustration of an Armenian family of five generations—the great-grandmother, the grandmother, her daughter, and her daughter and child, in the lap of the great-grandmother. The observant traveller descends from the Russian-Armenia into Turkish territory, and describes graphically and minutely the scenery of Lake Van, its surroundings, mountains, lakes, roads, places of worship, and races. Thence he proceeds across Lake Van and Van itself. From Van to Bitlis, Bitlis itself; from Bitlis to Mush-Mush, hence to Erzerum, Erzerum itself. The author returns to the Border Ranges,

\* See our last issue (October, 1901), pp. 423-425.

crosses the Central Tableland to Khinis, hence to Tutakh, down the Murad to Melazkert, hence to Akhlat, then visits the crater of Nimrud, round Nimrud by Lake Nazik, he ascends Sipan, turns back to the Central Tableland, he sojourns on Bingöl, and returns home across the Border Ranges.

On advancing to Sipan, he says: "Nature alone has made the most of exceptional opportunities, and Sipan, with this plain (Patnotz) on one flank, and the Lake of Van upon the other, is worthy to rank among the most beautiful objects in the natural world. . . . The summit of the slowly rising fabric which divides them attains an altitude of 13,700 feet. The history of the mountain may be studied to advantage from this, the northern side. There can be little doubt that it possessed a central crater, of which the walls have fallen in upon the north. The southern rim still stands, presenting an almost horizontal outline of sharp rock harbouring drifts of snow. The processes of denudation have been busy with the slopes of this ancient cone, and have broken the surface into knifelike ridges. We stood for half an hour in full face of the pile. After crossing two little rivulets, which wandered out from the hills behind us, we arrived at half-past ten at Patnotz."

The author's chapter on Statistics and Politics is extremely valuable. Looking back upon the massacres of 1895, he states "that in the vilayet of Erzerum between 2,500 and 3,000 people were butchered; in the town of Bitlis not less than 800, in that of Kharpüt 500, and as many as 2,800 in Arabkir. Reliable figures are wanting for the losses in human life throughout the country districts of the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, and Kharpüt. But they must have been considerable, and whole villages were wiped out. About 50,000 to 60,000 Armenians fled into Russian territory from the eastern vilayets."

The author asks, "What is the political problem? No statesman can settle this question who has not acquired an intimate knowledge of Asiatic geography. The Berlin Treaty spoke of *the provinces inhabited by the Armenians*. But the Armenians have become scattered in considerable numbers over the whole extent of Asia Minor. "To require the Porte to introduce reforms in the *provinces inhabited by the Armenians*, and to supervise the carrying out of the new measures, would amount to little less on the part of Europe than to take the whole of Turkey under tutelage."

In the appendix of this most valuable volume there are, "The Natural Constitution of the Armenians in the Turkish Empire" and "The Chemical Constitution of Some Armenian Lakes." The Bibliography, brief and useful, comprises: (1) Travel and topography; (2) Armenian people; (3) Armenian literature; (4) Vannic inscriptions; (5) Armenian churches; and (6) Political, thus forming a valuable index of reference on the various subjects comprised in the volume. There is also a minute and copious index to both volumes.

8. *The Theory of Credit*, by HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Second edition; complete in one volume. The author having been

selected by the Royal Commissioners for the Digest of the Law to prepare the Digest of the Law of Bills of Exchange, Notes, etc., and being an Honorary Member of the Juridical Society of Palermo and of the Sicilian Society of Political Economy, and the Corresponding Member of the Société d'Économie Politique of Paris and of the Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation of Madrid, is eminently qualified to discuss the important subject of "The Theory of Credit and of Banking in all its Bearings." The present volume, consisting of more than 1,100 pages, and a copious and minute index, contains the treatises, discussions, and other works, which the learned author has produced by continuous and unremitting labour of thirty-eight years. The work is designed as a complete manual for an economical inquiry and reform in this country, with regard to the chaotic and anomalous system of banking now existing. The publication is most opportune, and will be of supreme value with reference to the banking question now so keenly discussed in India. Mr. MacLeod challenges and refutes the theories of the economists of the past, who held that only the material products of the earth which are brought into commerce and exchange are wealth, and steadfastly refused to admit that labour and credit are wealth. He maintains that economics, or commerce, comprehends three great departments: the commerce in material commodities, the commerce in labour, and the commerce in rights and rights of action, by far the most colossal of any. This latter subject he has made his own, and discusses at great length every phase of the subject with great ability, clearness, and force. The Law Digest Commissioners and the judgment of the Court of Exchequer Chamber have decided that Mr. MacLeod's examination of the question is strictly accurate in the minutest particulars; and it is hoped that all who undertake to teach economics in Universities and colleges, at home and in India, will pay attention to the judgment of the Exchequer Chamber, and co-operate in diffusing a knowledge of this great and important subject among their students.

9. *Last Essays*, by the late PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER. Second series: Longmans, 1901. This volume is No. 18 of the "Collected Works" of the great Professor. It is the second series of his "Last Essays," being "Essays on the Science of Religion" (or "Religious Science"), and is edited by his son. Subjects of a religious nature chiefly engaged Max Müller's attention during the closing years of his distinguished career. The volume includes papers anent Esoteric Buddhism, anent the alleged sojourn of Christ in India, the birthplace of Buddha, the religions of China, and sundry other subjects. One of the essays—the essay on "Ancient Prayer"—has never till now been published, and the last of them, dealing with the subject of the soul and its immortality, appears now for the first time on this side of the Atlantic; it years ago appeared in several publications in America. The subjects of the essays are in several instances, from the religious point of view, most important. To those who remember the appearance of the essay on "Forgotten Bibles" in the *Nineteenth Century* magazine, it would be needless to say that it is not an exhortation to the study of the sacred Scriptures of the Jews and

Christians. Like so many of the papers in the works of Max Müller, these essays have already appeared in the periodical press, so that those who keep themselves informed respecting the literature of that press are already aware of the contents of these essays. This does not mean that they will not desire to read them again; while there are many who will read them in the book form who may not have seen them before. These papers are "too fair to die." Published in volume form, they will be of value to future generations. As regards the essay on "Ancient Prayer," it contains much that is new to general readers, and will be found to repay perusal. And as to the closing essay, the process by which the author seeks to establish the dogma of the deathless existence of the soul, whether in the future or in the past, is very striking and powerful. It is, moreover, original as far as the Occident is concerned. In this, as in so many of his suggestive arguments, Max Müller was more under the influence of Oriental philosophy than possibly he himself was aware of; but the forcefulness of the arguments in support of the dogma every reader will estimate in his own way. But this essay is not a production which any intelligent man can afford to miss or to ignore. The volume contains about a dozen essays, and presents to the reader the maturest thoughts of this lamented and valued writer.—B.

10. *The Vedānta Philosophy*, by MAX MÜLLER, K.M. This handy little volume consists of three lectures on a subject which the late excellent Professor did so much to bring within the knowledge of intelligent English people. To the many admirers of this hard-working and gifted author these lectures have long been known. Delivered in the first instance at the Royal Institution in 1894, and afterwards printed in volume form, they are now published anew as volume xvi. of Max Müller's "Collected Works." With the peculiar theological prepossessions of the lecturer we are not here concerned, and in commending his work, as an interpretation to an English audience of the philosophy of the Pantheistic school of the thinkers of ancient India, we shall not be understood to indorse either their views or his. Considering that English was not his native tongue, the facility with which Max Müller wrote it proclaims him to have been a genius of a very high order; yet there is a certain wordiness and want of condensation in his style which detracts from the force of his statements and from the pleasure of reading them. But his style has the defects of its quality: the wordiness results from the fluency. Max Müller does not set us thinking; he does all the thinking for us, and he leaves his reader nothing to do excepting merely to exercise the memory. He is not a feeding, suggestive writer; a habit of studying (say) Butler's "Analogy" would have made his own writings more nutritious. These lectures are by this time well known to all students of the six schools of Indian philosophy, and the republication of them in the present series will be welcomed. The printing is well done; the footnotes throughout are as luminous and helpful as they are recondite; and the series very worthily enshrines the thoughts of the prevailing school of Hindu theologians, and interprets well the philosophical cogitations of the sagas of the ancient time to thoughtful English inquirers of the present day.—B.

11. *A Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners*, by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Balliol College. A handy volume, based on the author's abridgment, with additions (1886), of Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar (second edition, 1870). It is practically a new book, being entirely recast, shortened, extended, arranged, and formulated anew. A full paradigm of the passive verb is added, and seven new ones of the reduplicated perfect. The largest additions, amounting altogether to about eighteen pages, have been made in the section on particles and the chapters on compounds and syntax. The work has been thoroughly revised by the author as well as other eminent Oriental scholars and examiners, and will be invaluable to beginners. In the introduction there is an interesting history of the first Sanskrit grammars, and also those which have appeared during the last half-century. The type is clear and distinct.

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LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1901.

12. *A Pāli Reader, with Notes and Glossary*, by DINES ANDERSEN, PH.D., Assistant Librarian to the University, Copenhagen. Part I.: Text and Notes. This contribution to the study of Buddhist literature cannot properly be judged before the appearance of Part II., the Glossary, to which all important philological questions are relegated, the notes at the end of the present volume being confined to remarks on the metre, references to parallel passages, an enumeration of the principal corrections made in the texts, and the like. The reading exercises, Dr. Andersen informs us, were originally intended to illustrate his own lectures at the University. He suggests that a six months' course should be devoted to his *excerpta* from the Jātakas, or birth-stories of Buddha, another to the remainder of his selections, and a third to the Dhammapada; and he promises that the glossary shall contain all the words in that work not occurring in the extracts now given. The beginner will find plenty of variety in the pieces; his path is made smooth by a very clear type, and he is told in the notes where he can find the respective translations.

R. G. CORBET.

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

13. *At the Court of the Amīr*, a narrative by JOHN ALFRED GRAY, M.B. (Lond.), late Surgeon to H.H. the (late) Amīr of Afghanistan. Nothing will be read with more interest just now than the author's present volume, which gives us an insight into the private and public life of the late Amīr, and whose conduct and policy, however much criticised, has evidently brought about the great desire at which he aimed—viz., the undisputed accession to the throne of his son Habibullah Khan, the present Ruler of Afghanistan. Dr. Gray's experiences and adventures during his stay in the country will also be found very interesting and instructive.

14. *The Settlement after the War in South Africa*, by M. J. FARRELLY, LL.D., B.A.L., Advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony. The author gives us the results of four years' study, on the spot, of the various problems of South Africa, political, racial, economical, and legal. The volume is

interesting at the present time, since the end of the long-protracted war is in sight, and a settlement is about to begin. Amongst other topics treated are the history of the Boer and the Briton for the last century; the Uitlander movement and the Boer reply to the Uitlander; the Afrikaner policy in the Boer States in 1898, and the principles of the settlement. It concludes with nine appendices entitled "The War and its Issues—from Various Standpoints."

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MORGAN AND SCOTT; LONDON.

15. *In the Far East*. Letters by GERALDINE GUINNESS. This publication, which is charmingly illustrated, deals with the missionary question of China. In its pages are set down minute details and experiences of an Evangelical lady missionary. The pictures she gives of the wretched homes and unlovely lives of the women are heartrending. The curse of the opium trade, for which she condemns England, has worked dire results; many a Chinese girl has had recourse to this deadly poison as a means of ending her forlorn and miserable existence. Geraldine Guinness is warm-hearted and emotional; her book is full of fervent prayers to Heaven and cries to her fellow-citizens to assist her in the regeneration of China. Unfortunately, the Asiatics are apt to look with disfavour upon active display of feeling; with them "quietness and confidence" would carry greater weight. Their pursuit of knowledge, innate courteousness, stolid disposition, and other racial traits of character—are these not sometimes mistaken as evidences of instant conversion? Or, dare we hope that the rapid progress of Geraldine Guinness through many a town and waterside village has met with the rich reward and lasting benefits that she has led us to infer? There is evident proof from many travellers that the thirst for religious knowledge *has* arisen in the Far East. This series of letters before us should deepen the desire of other mission women to carry the glorious message of love to their unhappy sisters. The statistics given in the opening pages set us wondering what will be the final result when regeneration is effected, both from a political and religious standpoint.—S.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1901.

16. *Stringer Lawrence, the Father of the Indian Army*, by COLONEL J. BIDDULPH, Indian Staff Corps, author of "The Nineteenth and their Times." The object of this work is to rescue from oblivion the efforts, the actions, and character of a brave soldier, to whom the British Empire owes much. It recalls to our recollection how great was the French predominance in India at the time of Lawrence's arrival. With few troops and scanty resources the ambitious schemes of Dupleix were checked, and the prestige of English arms secured. He was also the first English Commander-in-Chief in India, and by his good judgment, unflinching common-sense, and uprightness of character, he secured the confidence of his masters in England and of his colleagues in India to a degree that no others of his time were able to attain. On his death the directors of the East India Company voted £700 for the erection of a monument to his



memory in Westminster Abbey, bearing the following inscription : " Discipline established. Fortresses protected. Settlements extended. French and Indian armies defeated. And peace concluded in the Carnatic." The work contains also a portrait of Lawrence and of Dupleix, views of Trichinopoly and the Temple of Seringham, and a representation of the monument in Westminster Abbey, as well as a map of the environs of Trichinopoly, and a copious index, with appendices of Lawrence's parentage, and a list of the Soobadars of the Deccan and Nawabs of the Carnatic in the eighteenth century.

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DAVID NUTT ; LONDON, 1901.

17. *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, by J. SELDEN WILLMORE, M.A. The author of this work, a Judge of the Native Court of Appeal by profession, is also an ardent student of the Shemitic language. Undertaking to compile a grammar of the Cairene dialect, he gives us what is in fact a grammar of the Arabic understood everywhere in Egypt. The work is intended for the use of English students, and is constructed on principles with which all educated young Englishmen are familiar. Throughout the work there are the usual examples, vocabularies, and exercises from Arabic into English, and from English into Arabic ; and the work closes with a vocabulary of all the words contained in the exercises. An Arabic grammar intended for the use of Englishmen is more likely to answer its purpose if it be constructed on the principles of grammars with which they are already familiar, than if it be constructed on the principles of indigenous Arabic grammars. This is the idea which the author has kept in view all through his work. His own most helpful preface is preceded by an introduction by Professor Sayce, by whom, moreover, the entire manuscript of the work was read.

The variety which Arabic "as she is spoke" takes is at once perceptible to everyone who travels in lands where it is a spoken tongue. The spoken Arabic of Turkey, Morocco, Persia, Egypt, Hindustan, is different both in pronunciation and in idiom from that spoken in Arabia. Even within the confines of Arabia itself these differences exist and are readily detected. Words have different connotations, letters have different sounds, and the speakers of Arabic hailing from the different parts of the Muḥammadan world would be as unintelligible to one another as would be the Cornishman to the native of Cumberland. The idiom of the Qorān (spoken dialect though it was of Muḥammad and his fellow Qorayshites of the sixth century of our era) is no more the idiom of any Arabic-speaking people than is the idiom of Dante the idiom of present-day Italians. There is, therefore, need of such a book as this of Mr. Willmore's, setting forth as it does the idiom peculiar to Cairo of the present day, the more so that Egypt is more likely than ever to become the scene of English enterprise.—B.

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C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LTD. ; HENRIETTA ST., LONDON, 1901.

18. *From Cyprus to Zanzibar by the Egyptian Delta*, I. The Adventures of a Journalist in the Isle of Love, the Home of Miracles, and the Land of Cloves. By EDWARD VIZETELLY (Bertie Clere), War Correspondent, author

of "The Reminiscences of a Bashi-Bazouk," etc. Illustrated with many photographs by L. Fiorillo, of Alexandria, and others. This fascinating volume of nearly 500 pages recounts in an extremely interesting form the author's personal experience and impressions of events and persons in Cyprus and the other regions indicated by its title, both as a Civil Servant and a press correspondent, and editor or promoter of newspapers. There are upwards of thirty well-executed illustrations and a minute index. He graphically describes persons and places, and relates a vast number of amusing stories. This is one : When in Cyprus, he removed to a suburb of Larnaca, where there was a Cypriot lady who could not understand why an Englishman should be so fond of his bath. She observed to another lady, who kept lodgers : "How dirty these English people must be, for they are always washing themselves !" His description of the *Times'* correspondent is amusing : He "was a remarkably tall, lean man, with a face as red as a boiled lobster, a neck like that of a crane, and quite as crimson as his visage. He dressed in a suit of white duck, having a button-up-to-the-throat jacket. The absence of a high collar, which, owing to the heat, would have been uncomfortable, made his neck look all the longer, whilst the immaculate whiteness of his attire gave additional warmth to the fiery ruddiness of both neck and visage, and a tall, bell-shaped helmet increased his height." The author, having taken ill with fever, and supposed to be dying, his landlord, in one of his visits, took with him a Greek priest of the village. He was "a dark, handsome man, with black beard, delicate skin, classic head and features, but, as I ascertained afterwards, as ignorant and narrow-minded a creature as most of the Greek village clergy are, wherever one may chance to come across them. The new arrivals seated themselves, one on either side of my bed, and asked me how I felt. They thought I was going to die ; I could hear them say as much, one to the other, in Greek. All at once, as they were talking, I felt the long, filbert-nailed fingers of the priest stealthily creeping beneath my bolster. Though fever-stricken and weak, I had all my faculties about me. I was lying on my right side, my left hand close to the pillow. It went under, and clutched a sock containing all my worldly wealth, a matter of £18. I drew my property slowly towards me ; the priest's hand went slowly back to his sombre garb. No one said anything, and a few minutes later, after an interchange of civilities, my visitors left me."

In the same style and humour he describes his adventures in Egypt : the bombardment of Alexandria ; his visits to Cairo and other places ; his journey to Zanzibar ; his "dash to meet Stanley," on a commission by Mr. Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald* ; and the first announcement of the successful expedition to bring succour to the renowned traveller and Emin Pasha. His chapters on the "Tale of a Libel" ; his imprisonment in consequence of perjury of a witness against him, and his action after his release from an abominable prison ; his antagonist and perjurer condemned and punished, are intensely interesting, and valuable with respect to the reform of the administration of justice to Europeans residing in Egypt.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK AND LONDON: THE KNICKERBOCKER PRESS, 1901.

19. *The Thirteen Colonies*, by HELEN AINSLIE SMITH, author of the "One Hundred Famous Americans," "Stories of Persons and Places in America," "The Colonies," "Animals, Wild and Tame," etc. This history, well written, well printed, and very readable, is contained in two handy volumes. The first, that of Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York; the second, that of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. There are also very numerous representations from old prints of persons and places and old maps, and a copious index. The object of the work is to meet the requirements of the general reader, but the special student of this interesting period will find it most useful, as it gives short and apt quotations from old histories and public documents, and is the first single work in which is presented separately the record of each of the thirteen colonies from their first settlement to the declaration of independence—the authoress depicting each plantation upon its own geographical background and as a distinct entity, with a picture of the various pioneers, their habits, their business capacities, their political aims, their statescraft, and their efforts to secure independence from the abuse of power and stupidity of our statesmen in England. The authoress says truly the preparation of such a history must have occupied a number of years, as research had to be made in old records as well as standard modern works, sifting out prejudices in order to make a simple and straightforward narrative, giving form and colour, instinct with the breath of life. A most excellent and valuable work.

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GRANT RICHARDS; 9, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON.

20. *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, by WEN CHING. Edited by Rev. G. M. REITH, M.A., Edinburgh. The volume is composed of remarkable articles which appeared in the *Singapore Free Press*, narrating social and political facts and circumstances connected with the recent crisis, by a patriotic Chinaman, well acquainted with English literature and Western ideas. "Many things" (as the Editor observes) "will be new to the majority of English readers—e.g., the fact that the population of China is not homogeneous, the rapid progress of Western ideas and methods amongst the Chinese in recent times, and the skilful way in which the Court of Peking has played all these years with European diplomacy." There is also a good index and an interesting appendix, containing biographical notices of the members of the "Tsunli Yamen" during the recent events. The work is admirably edited, and is of much interest to English readers.

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

21. *A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light, the Founders of Penang and Adelaide, with Extracts from their Journals*, by A. FRANCIS STEUART, Advocate. This interesting work will reward Mr. Steuart's indefatigable labours in collecting together, from numerous

sources, the history of two men, little known, but who were, nevertheless, the first builders of an important portion of our Empire in the East and the Far South. Francis Light was the means not only of founding the colony, but guarding its interests against the Dutch, keeping Siam in good humour, and bringing the war against the Raja of Keddah to a successful issue. He assimilated himself in many ways, in dress and manner of living, to the natives, and accordingly was much appreciated by them and the settlers from other parts. On the tombstone of his grave at St. George's Church, Penang, there is the following inscription: "In his capacity as Governor, the Settlers and Natives were greatly attached to him, and by his death had to deplore the loss of one who watched over their interests and cares as a father."

His elder son William became one of the pioneers of the new settlement of South Australia. His history reads like a romance, both with respect to his adventures, the difficulties he had to encounter, and his persistent efforts, in spite of much opposition, in fixing the site of the city of Adelaide, which has proved to be eminently successful. Mr. Steuart, the author of this work, and a remote kinsman, sums up his fascinating history in these words: "The good work that Colonel Light did in the early history of South Australia is now universally acknowledged, and the judgment of posterity on which he relied has been entirely favourable to him. In his resolute adherence to the choice of Adelaide as the capital, and his rejection of Port Lincoln and Encounter Bay in the face of the most powerful official opposition, is now justified by all. His almost unsurmountable difficulties—the hardships, the incompetency of some of his subordinates, and the want of transport—are now, through the vista of time, seen and recognised. Of his private character there has always been only one estimate, and that one full of praise." We must refer our readers to the work itself for the details of this thrilling story.

22. *A Manual of Pushtu*, by CAPTAIN G. ROOS-KEPPEL, C.I.E., with Native Assistants. A guide to a knowledge of the Pushtu language at once trustworthy, simple, and helpful, has long been a felt want. The present work is modelled on Clarke's "Persian Manual," and is intended to meet this want, aiming at the same time to take the learner by the shortest route to the examinations prescribed by the Government of India. Unlike the well-known introductions of Raverty, Bellew, and Trumpp, the present work is not only a grammar of Pushtu, but also a guide or manual to the language. The work is divided into three divisions, the first of which treats of the accidence; the second consists of a graduated series of reading lessons, from easy sentences to more difficult exercises in prose composition; and the third consists of exercises more difficult and complicated still. A great deal of parts ii. and iii. consist of conversational exercises and extracts from Government documents, etc., the direct object of the entire work being to prepare the candidate as quickly as possible for his lower and higher standard examinations. Many of the exercises are, in fact, reprints of the papers that have for many years past been set in those examinations.

The work is a model of good printing, nor are there many press errors.

The exercises are all printed in the vernacular character, which, with the exception of a few letters, is the same as the Persian. The author sometimes writes "Pushtu" and sometimes "Pushto." The point to guard against is that the *u* must have the sound of *u* in the English words "much," "trust," "crutch." The author's "Pushtu" might lead to the pronunciation "Pooshtu." On p. vi of his preface the author speaks of the Munshis' pronunciation being "vile." This is not a classical or literary use of the word.

The work is evidently written with a view to the use of gentlemen in the military service. They might, with such a helpful guide as this, begin the study of the language before embarking for India, and might attain a very good knowledge of it, translating as well from English into Pushtu as from Pushtu into English. But the examiners require a colloquial or conversational knowledge of the language, for which purpose the examinations are partly *vivâ voce*. This kind of acquaintance with a language can only be attained by learning from the lips of one who himself speaks it. The candidate will therefore need to employ for conversational purposes a native teacher after he arrives in India. Such teachers, as the author forewarns us, need to be selected with discretion.—B.

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SONNENSCHN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1902.

23. *What's What: a Guide for To-day to Life as it Is and Things as they Are*, by HARRY QUILTER, M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb., Barrister-at-Law. A book full of information—in fact, a kind of "Enquire Within upon Everything." It contains 1,228 pages of text and twenty illustrations. The following headings will show some of the chief classes of articles treated of: Athletic Organization; Games; Animals; The Army; Art; Biographical and Critical Notes; Educational; Finance; Food and Food-stuffs; Government; Institutions; Literature; London; Marine; Medical Subjects; Places; Professions and Employments of Practical Life; Religion; Scientific Subjects; Substances; Manufactured Articles; Miscellaneous; Musical and Theatrical; Theatres; Musical Subjects; Miscellaneous.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1901.

24. *China under the Searchlight*, by WILLIAM ARTHUR CORNABY, editor of the *Chung-si-Chiao-hui-pao*, author of "A String of Chinese Peach Stones," etc. A racy and well-written work, exhibiting various amusing characteristics of the people of China. The writer deals with the teeming population, their religion, the poverty of the masses, their intense family federation, their customs of politeness, the difference of town and country life, their hatred of foreigners, a description of some of the actors in the tragedy of 1900, the difference of rule in the West, with Mandarinism in the East, the Chinese language, a Chinese bookstall, and a Chinese daily newspaper. The edict relating to the latter is reproduced, and is as follows: "As newspapers only serve to excite the masses to subvert the present order of things, and the editors thereof are composed of the dregs of the literary classes, no good can be served by the

continuation of such dangerous instruments, and we hereby command the entire suppression of all newspapers published within the Empire, while the editors connected with them are to be arrested and punished with the utmost rigour of the law" (Imperial Decree, October 8, 1898). The author states that this Imperial command was evaded in two ways—one to subsidize the mandarins, and the other to add a foreign name as proprietor on the front-sheet, thus placing the newspaper under foreign protection. The organization of the press is such that London telegrams to Shanghai are in the Chinese readers' hands within twenty-four hours, and all the leading national or diplomatic events are portrayed, together with condensed reports of the British Parliament on Eastern questions, with an accuracy which leaves little to be desired, and the author adds, as his opinion, "that the daily press of Cathay will prove an important factor in the new China which is coming to birth with the new century.

ERNEST LEROUX ; PARIS.

25. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, by PROFESSOR EDOUARD CHAVANNES. Fourth volume (500 pp.). The volume of this splendid work now issued brings us to the end of chapter xlii. When it is reflected that the *Shi-ki* is but the first—the Twelve Tables—of the Chinese dynastic histories, and that there are twenty-four more like it, some longer, some shorter, it may be imagined what a wealth of new matter there still is before us, all bearing upon the civilization of Asia, from Parthia to Japan, and all throwing light upon law, custom, religion, and ethnology. The present volume treats almost exclusively of the "hereditary houses"—that is Sz-ma Ts'ien, gives us a history, as best he can, of each of the feudal States of China previous to the destruction of them all. It is not quite clear why a writer in the Han dynasty, the dynasty which immediately followed the one which first unified China, should devote a special section of his work to hereditary families no longer existing with the same dignity and authority as of old. It is as though Mr. Justin McCarthy should, in describing the developments of the Victorian era, go into a long discussion about Whig and Tory "houses," and carry us back to the York and Lancaster rivalries and civil wars. It may be stated that, for some unknown reason, Confucius is included amongst the "hereditary houses," though his family never ruled a State of any kind; the fact proves at least that even 2,000 years ago Confucius was already an "uncrowned king" of men. Persons of broad mind and capacious intellect who have no particular aim in life could not do better than settle down to a careful study of Professor Chavannes' four volumes, and thus lay the foundation of useful general knowledge.—E. H. PARKER.

KIRSCHBAUM'S PUBLISHING OFFICE ; ST. PETERSBURG.

26. *The Latest Map of Manchuria*, by L. BORODOWSKY, published under the authority of the Ministry of Finance, St. Petersburg. At last we have a magnificent map of the highest scientific value, comprising, with its explanatory introduction and index, the net results of all the critical, geographical,

and, generally, the scientific inquiries of the past three years, showing the railways made, the railways projected, the river levels, telegraphs, the high-roads, the steamer communications, the cessions to Russia, the "neutral" territory "sealed" in Mormon fashion to Russia, and, in short, everything that any reasonable man can want to know in studying the history of Cathayan, Nüchên, Manchu, Mongol, Russian, and Chinese development. There are, besides, excellent little plans of Petuné, Kírin, Ninguta, Tsitsihar, and Mukden cities, and plain indications where all the gold, silver, iron, and coal-mines are to be found throughout the land. Whilst the majority of Englishmen are gaping about for a lead, or interesting themselves in lonely furrows, yacht-races, and football, "spatchcocked" telegrams, "concentrados," pro-Chamberlain and pro-Boer agitations, the Russians are going manfully to work in a business-like way, and are developing the vast countries now open to their science, ambition, and industry.—E. H. PARKER.

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CATHOLIC PRINTING PRESS, SHANGHAI.

27. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 19: *The Term "Lord of Heaven" (T'ien-chu, used by the Romanists)—apropos of a Buddhist column found at Ch'êng-tu, capital of Sz Ch'wan*, by PÈRE HAVRET, S.J. Another posthumous work. No sooner has the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* submitted its views upon Père Gaillard's recent philippic, than it is called upon to notice a very different kind of legacy left behind by the late Père Havret. This noble-minded missionary was condemned to early death by the Parisian physicians a year ago, but, in the true spirit of a martyr, he dragged his bones out once more to his beloved China, in order to complete, so far as possible, his exhaustive studies into the religions of Asia. His colleagues have printed the posthumous work untouched, exactly as he left it. The story is this: About six years ago, Père Havret became aware of the existence in Sz Ch'wan of an inscribed Buddhistic column, apparently pointing to the introduction thereabouts of Christianity in the seventh century. This notion of his was based upon the frequent recurrence in the inscription of the words "Lord of Heaven," the term finally accepted by the Romanists as the best word for "God" under the Bull of Clement XI., in 1704, as confirmed by the subsequent Bulls *Ex illâ die* (1715), and *Ex quo singulari* (1742). But the researches of Professor Chavannes and other scholars in the sinological field have since made it abundantly clear that the words "Lord of Heaven" were already recorded in Chinese standard history 2,000 years ago, and that they are by no means a "Papist invention," as stated by the revered Dr. Legge in his less mellow or unriper days. The whole pamphlet now under review is a model of courtesy, dignity, and manly resignation. Not an offensive word is uttered against the *ministre avec sa Bible*, but all due respect is shown to the efforts of Protestants, Jews, Mussulmans, Nestorians, and Romanists alike to provide themselves with a suitable word for the Christian "God." This pamphlet, short though it be (30 pages), will for ever remain a classic and the final word on this important subject. The matter may be resumed thus: Long before Christianity was heard of, the

Greeks and Romans used *Θεός* and *Deus* as we do now use *Dieu*, *Theist*, *Dios*, etc., for "God," etc., but, of course, they did so in a less dignified sense. Long before Christianity appeared in East Asia the Chinese likewise used "in fraternal harmony" for gods, spirits, and God—all, or nearly all, the various expressions which Western men have, in writing Chinese, at any time used for "God." Western men may have tried to invent, have been ignorant of their plagiarism, or may have deliberately used old words in a new sense. But there is no mystery about it, and *Père Havret* now makes this all clear.

We may add a word of our own: No nation or literature has ever had a clear notion what "God" is, nor can any nation now define the word. Hence, of course, all nations have made the best shift they could to apply old names, which never had a definite meaning, to new dogmas, which have never yet been susceptible of proof.—E. H. PARKER.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Via Eastern.* This is the title of a handy pocket-map of the Eastern and Associated Telegraph Company's cable communications of the world. There is also a tariff, giving the charge per word from any station in the United Kingdom to all countries served by the different companies. The "Eastern" route is considered the best and most reliable for those telegraphing to India, the Far East, and South America. The chief station in London is at 11, Old Broad Street, E.C.

*On the Identity of Al Muḩauḩis of Egypt*, by ALFRED J. BUTLER. Reprinted from the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology." A learned paper, exhibiting much research, in which the author expresses his conclusion similar to that of Severus, and that the other Arabic authorities which he quotes are wrong. Severus identifies Al Muḩauḩis with Cyrus as the "Misbelieving Governor who was both Prefect and Patriarch of Alexandria under the Romans."

*The Civilizing Race*, by E. M. BENSE (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, and Co., Limited, Stationers' Hall Court, London, 1901). The work is composed of twenty-four chapters on the origin of the earth and its life, language, the Deluge, the Greek myths, ancient legends, and a congeries of other subjects. It reduces history to a fiction, a farce, or an absurdity.

*India in the Nineteenth Century*, by DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER, author of "The Story of India," "Lord William Bentinck," etc. (Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, Temple Avenue, London, E.C., 1901). With map of the Indian Empire. A short and racy history, superficial, with many inaccuracies—as, for instance, the originator in India of the famous title, *Kaisar-i-Hind*, of Queen Victoria, as Empress of India.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, October, November, and December;—*The Sunday Strand*, October, November, and December;—*The Strand*



*Magazine*, October, November, and December ;—*Britannia's Bulwarks*, Parts 9 to 12 (now completed) ;—*The Twentieth Century Citizen's Atlas*, Parts 1 to 6 ;—*The Wide World Magazine*, October, November, and December ;—*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Revue philologique*, published quarterly (Hanoi, Indo-China, F. H. Schneider, imprimeur-éditeur, also 28, rue Vaquelin, Paris) ;—*Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i., 1900 (Seoul, Korea, London : Kegan, Paul and Co., Ltd.) ;—*The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarsin) with Asoka Maurya, and some connected problems*, by Vincent A. Smith, M.R.A.S. (from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*), October, 1901 ;—*Chinese Folklore and some Western Analogies*, by Frederick Wells Williams, from the *Smithsonian Report for 1900*, pp. 575-600 (Washington : Government Printing-Office, 1901) ;—*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for the Year 1900* (Bombay : Government Central Press ;—*East and West*, vol. i., No. 1, November, 1901 (Bombay : The Caxton Printing-Works) ;—*Preliminary Report on a Journey of Archaeological and Topographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, by M. A. Stein, Indian Educational Service ; published under the Authority of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India in Council. (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901) ;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Co., Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.) ;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London : A. Constable and Co.) ;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) ;—*The Madras Review* ;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel (Tunis, au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut) ;—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna : Alfred Hölder) ;—*Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala : C. J. Lundström ; London : Williams and Norgate) ;—*Die Kultur, Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Litteratur und Kunst* (Vienna and Stuttgart : Jos. Roth) ;—*The Contemporary Review* ;—*The North American Review* ;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York) ;—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.) ;—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London) ;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.) ;—*The Canadian Gazette* (London) ;—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London) ;—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London) ;—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London : Waterlow and Sons) ;—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, (Simla : Government Central Printing-Office) ;—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.) ;—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras) ;—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press) ;—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal) ;—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto : Biggar, Samuel and Co.) ;—*The Kayastha Samacher*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press,

Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*The Indian Church Review*, October, 1901, edited by the Rev. W. K. Firminger, M.A., and the Rev. A. S. Dyer, M.A. (London: Messrs. Keymer and Co.; Calcutta: Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co.).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone reviews of the following works till our next issue: *Burma under British Rule, and Before*, by John Nisbet, D.F.C., late Conservator of Forests, Burma, in two volumes, with maps (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., London, 1901);—*Travel in the First Century after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor*, by Caroline A. J. Skeel, former student of Girton College, Cambridge; and *Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest*, collected and translated by Walter Skeat, M.A., etc., and illustrated by F. H. Townsend (Messrs. C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane, London);—*With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple: Narrative of Four Years' Residence on the Tibetan Border, and of a Journey into the Far Interior*, by Susie Carson Rijnhart, M.D.; and *The Love of Cathay, or the Intellect of China*, by W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., President of the Chinese Imperial University, illustrated (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1901);—*Apollonius of Tyana, the Philosopher-Reformer of the First Century, A.D.*: A Critical Study of the only Existing Record of his Life, with some Account of the War of Opinion concerning him, and an Introduction on the Religious Associations and Brotherhoods of the Times and the Possible Influence of Indian Thought on Greece, by G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London and Benares Theosophical Publishing Society, 1901);—*Arabic Manual: A Colloquial Handbook in the Syrian Dialect for the use of Visitors to Syria and Palestine*, containing a simplified grammar, a comprehensive English and Arabic vocabulary and dialogues, by F. E. Crowe, late H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Beirut (London: Luzac and Co., 1901);—*The Tale of the Great Muliny*, by W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D., with portrait and maps (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1901);—*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, showing the operations, expenditures, and condition of the institution for the year ending June 30, 1897. Part II., also ditto for the year ending June 30, 1899 (Washington Government Printing-Office, 1901);—*My Fourth Tour in Western Australia*, by Albert F. Calvert, author of "The Discovery of Australia," etc.; illustrated by Walker Hodgson and from photographs, second edition (London: Dean and Son, 160A, Fleet Street, E.C., 1901);—*Chinese Turkestan, with Caravan and Rifle*, by Percy W. Church, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (Rivingtons, 34, King Street, Covent Garden, London, 1901);—*The Foundation of British East Africa*, by J. W. Gregory, D.Sc., Professor of Geology in the University of Melbourne, author of "The Great Rift Valley" (London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1901);—*The Oriental Club and Hanover Square*, by Alexander F. Baillie, F.R.G.S., with photogravure portraits and other illustrations (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1901).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The inauguration of the new North-West Frontier Province on November 9 last was marked by a great military display at Peshāwar. The proclamation was read in open durbar by Colonel Deane, the Chief Commissioner at the head of the Administration, in presence of the chiefs and principal leaders of the native community. Colonel Deane assured them that the changes involved in the new policy, so far from being injurious to their rights and interests, would place them in greater security by bringing them nearer to the centre of Government and by expediting justice.

The following compose the new province: The Mansehra, Abbot-tābād and Haripur *tahsils* of the Hazāra District; the Peshāwar and Kohāt Districts, the Tank, Dera Ismāil Khān, and Kulāchi *tahsils* of the Dera Ismāil Khān District. The Indus is the eastern boundary of the Province except to the north-west, where the three *tahsils* of the Hazāra district are concerned. The administrative civil staff will consist of 34 officers, including the Chief Commissioner, all of whom have been furnished by the Panjāb. The staff consists of: 1 Chief Commissioner and 3 Political Assistants; 1 Judicial Commissioner; 1 Revenue Commissioner; 1 Administrative Medical Officer; 1 Inspector-General of Police; 3 Assistant Commissioners, 1 Native Assistant to Chief Commissioner, 1 Superintendent in Chief Commissioner's Office (Political Branch), and 1 in the General Branch; 1 Registrar to the Judicial Commissioner; 1 Personal Assistant to the Revenue Commissioner; 1 Superintendent Engineer.

The Provisional Government for the North-West Provinces and Oude passed the Tenancy Bill in October last.

The Government has decided to offer the Presbyterian and Wesleyan bodies in India grants in aid of the construction of churches in cantonments for those denominations, instead of erecting Government churches.

The final returns of the Census of the great province of Bengal, which contains more than one-fourth of the entire population of the Indian Empire, show the total of 78,492,910, of which 74,744,366 are in British territory and 3,748,544 in native States. To these may be added 10,999 British subjects who were enumerated in French Chandernagore.

The King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to issue invitations, which have been accepted by the following Princes and chiefs, to attend his Coronation in London next June: The Maharaja of Gwalior, the Raja of Kolhapur, the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Nawab of Bahāwalpur, and the Raja of Nabha. The following Princes were unable, for domestic or other reasons, to accept the royal invitation: The Nizām of Haidarābād, the Maharani of Udaipur, the Maharaja of Travancore, and the Raja of Cochin. It is also in contemplation to send a large military contingent to take part in the Coronation ceremonies, representing all ranks and classes of the native army and the Imperial Service troops. At the head of the last-named deputation will be Sir Pertab Singh.

The trade and navigation statistics of British India for the six months ending with September show increases in the exports amounting to over  $11\frac{1}{4}$  crores, and in the imports to nearly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  crores. The increase in the imports of silver was roughly 287 lacs; in the export of the white metal there was an increase of nearly 95 lacs. Gold, however, shows a decrease of 221 lacs under imports and 35 lacs under exports. Cotton piece-goods show the largest increase under imports, the value being 319 lacs greater than in the corresponding period of 1900, while under exports the chief increases are: Oil-seeds, 438 lacs; cotton, 313 lacs; cotton yarn, 284 lacs; and wheat and wheat flour, 182 lacs. For the month of September the total value of the imports was 650 lacs, as compared with 539 lacs in the corresponding month of last year, and the exports amounted to 864 lacs against 691 lacs.

The plague still rages in India, the greater number of cases occurring in Bombay, Karachi, Bangalore, and Maisur.

There are some 150,000 recipients of famine relief, mostly in the Bombay Presidency.

Autumn crops have deteriorated and sowing of spring crops are retarded for want of rain in part of Bombay, Central Provinces, North-West Provinces, and to a more serious extent in Baroda State, in part of Rajputana, Assam, and South Panjāb.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—A detachment of 32 men of the 17th Bengal Infantry was ambushed by the Waziris between Murtazā and Sarwakai, near the Gomal Pass, on November 3. Punitive operations were undertaken against the Mahsuds for these outrages. Four columns traversed their country and destroyed many towers, villages, and granaries, and captured 200 prisoners, besides killing many of the enemy.

NATIVE STATES.—Maharaja Kushen Pershad has been nominated the new Premier of Haidarābād. He is a comparatively young man, a good financier, and is devoted to the interests of the Nizām.

At the end of October last the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb installed the young Maharaja of Patiala on the *gadi*. His Excellency the Viceroy has decided that he shall have an English tutor as guardian up to the age of fourteen, and then go through a course at the Aitchison Chiefs' College at Lahore. The Council of Regency will be required to consult the Political Agent freely, and accept his advice when communicated, as exceptional measures are necessary for the restoration of economy and efficiency in the administration of Patiala State.

The Nawab Sir Ahsanullah has presented to the town of Dacca an electric installation at a cost of between three and four lacs of rupees.

The Government has recognised Nawab Nasrullah Khān, the eldest son of the Begum of Bhopal, as Her Highness's heir-apparent.

The Maharaja Holkar of Indore has renewed to the East India Association an endowment of Rs. 25,000, of which Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., and Sir William Rattigan, K.C., M.P., are the trustees.

The Kapurthala State has sustained a serious loss in the death of Sirdar Bhagat Singh, the Minister, who died on October 23. He had been thirty years in the service of the State, rising through a succession of offices to

the Ministry, to which he was appointed in 1897. Not long ago he was appointed by Sir Mackworth Young to a seat in the Legislative Council of the Panjāb.

The Raja of Mandi has sanctioned an outlay of Rs. 3,000,000 for the construction of a tonga road from Mandi to Bajaura.

CEYLON.—The Governor, Sir J. West Ridgeway, has opened the Legislature with a long and satisfactory speech. The finances, trade, and industries of the colony, he said, were sound, and great progress had been made with public works, irrigation, and railway extensions. In short, last year has been the most prosperous in the history of the island.

There are in all 5,125 Boer prisoners in the island. They are well treated, and the mortality is light.

The sovereign is to be made legal tender in the colony at the rate of Rs. 15, thus bringing it into line with India.

BURMA.—Lord Curzon, who left Simla for a tour in Assam and Burma, crossed the Burma frontier on November 21. He was met at Tammu by Sir F. Fryer. On his arrival at Kindat, on November 23, he received his first address of welcome. He reached Mandalay on November 26. In addressing the chiefs of the Southern Shan States at a durbar, His Excellency referred to the prosperity of the country compared with its condition fifteen years ago. He urged the expansion of its resources. His Excellency held another durbar of the principal Shan chieftains on December 2 at Lashio, proceeding afterwards to Mandalay and Rangoon.

The gross income of the Excise Department for 1900-1901 (54,82,538 rupees), as compared with that of the previous year, shows an increase of 1,72,317 rupees.

According to the annual report on the Burma police, that force is steadily declining in popularity. Though the upper branches of the service are well paid, the wages of a policeman are 9 rupees a month, and that of an illiterate coolie ranges from 15 to 20 rupees a month.

PERSIA.—The total value of the imports and exports of Persia for the financial year ended March 21 amounted to £8,000,000 sterling, exclusive of about £600,000, representing the greater portion of the pearl trade and the trade across the Baluchistan and Kurdistan frontiers and through Muhammerah, where the new system of Customs houses has not yet been established. Of this amount 56 per cent. represents trade with Russia, 24 per cent. trade with Great Britain, 6 per cent. with Turkey, 5½ per cent. with France, 4 per cent. with China and Japan, 2½ per cent. with Austria ½ per cent. with Germany, and 1½ per cent. with other countries. (From good authority we learn that the British percentage will be higher this year, but still very much below the Russian.)

A branch of the Russo-Persian bank has been opened at Resht, the capital of Ghilan.

The situation in the Persian Gulf is quieter. The Nejd tribesmen are ceasing to menace Koweit.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir, Abdur Rahman Khan, was taken ill on September 28, and died early on the morning of October 3 in Kabul. His eldest son, His Highness Habibullah Khan, was formally proclaimed Amir.

His brothers and relatives and all the leading nobles accepted him without reserve. His Highness announced his peaceful accession by a letter to the Viceroy of India, and assured him of his intention to follow in the footsteps of his father, and hoped that the friendship between the British and Afghan Governments would grow stronger than ever. The Amir has granted an increase of pay to all the troops of his regular army and the levies, and has issued a proclamation announcing a reduction of taxes and land revenue. Many prisoners have been released from gaols in various parts of the country. Many Afghan refugees in India have returned to Kabul.

Lord Curzon has sent a deputation of influential Muhammadan officials to Kabul to take part in the Fateha ceremony in honour of the late Amir, and to congratulate the new Amir on behalf of the Government on his succession. The deputation comprised Rajah Jahāndād Khan of Ghakkar, Rajah 'Ata-ullah Khān, Sahibzādeh Muhammad Ilyās Khan, Sheikh Riās Hussein Koreishi, and Ahmad Yār Khān of Sadozai.

The population of BALUCHISTAN, according to the recent census, was 810,746.

TURKEY AND ASIA.—Serious disturbances have occurred at Mush, and were quelled by the Vali of Bitlis. Many subsequent outrages have been reported. The authorities placed the blame on the Armenians, and have punished them accordingly.

The British Government has accepted in principle a proposal made by the Porte for the appointment of a mixed Anglo-Turkish Commission to demarcate the boundary of the territories forming the *Hinterland* of Aden, which is contiguous to the *vilayet* of Yemen.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—General Kuropatkin, the Russian War Minister, completed in October last a tour of inspection of the Russian Central Asia garrisons. His Excellency was entirely satisfied with the condition, strength, and dispositions of the Turkestan forces, and no material changes or alterations will be made.

The most advanced post on the Afghan frontier is at Chehel Dūkhtarān, about thirty miles from the Afghan town of Kūshk. There are posts at Termez, in Bukhārā, on the right bank of the Oxus; to the north of Mazār-i-Sharif; at Patta Hissār, on the Oxus; at Kerki, also on the Oxus; at Sarakhs, and on the Pamirs.

The construction of the new Central Asian Railway is in full swing. It will run from Orenburg by way of Iliisk, Kasalinsk, and Petrovsk to Tāshkand, a distance of about 1,150 miles. Its estimated cost is 115,000,000 roubles, and it is expected to be opened by January, 1905. The Kūshk line has been extended to Chehel Dūkhtarān, and a branch line from Panjdeh towards Maruchak.

CHINA.—The new Manchurian Convention proposed by Russia is as follows: The gradual withdrawal of the Russian forces from Manchuria within three years if no other rebellion occurs. The number and stations of the Chinese garrisons shall be determined by the Military Governors of the three provinces in concert with the Russian military authorities. The Shan-hai-Kwan-Niu-chwang Railway to be restored to the original owners,

but other Powers may not send troops to protect it. Without the consent of Russia no prolongation of the railway or the construction of new branch lines in any part of Southern Manchuria is to be permitted. No mention is made of any mining, commercial, or exclusive privileges.

Imperial edicts have been issued creating new official boards, and strongly enjoining all officials to enforce the reforms recently decreed, and later edicts issued by the Empress continue to display an apparently genuine tendency in favour of reorganization and reform.

Li Hung Chang died in Peking on November 7. Yuan Shih-Kai, who has been appointed to succeed him as Governor of Chi-li, has decided to change the capital of that province from Tien-tsin to Tung-chan, on account of the occupation of Tien-tsin by foreign troops.

The famine, mentioned in our last issue as still raging in the North-West Province of Shensi, has resulted in 30 per cent. of the population falling before the scourge. Relief measures were in operation for a period of thirteen months, and the sum of Tls. 5,550,000 (£800,000) was spent in efforts to keep the people alive. The acuteness of the distress has, however, passed.

The settlement of claims between the local officials and the missionaries for outrages to native Christians and for destruction of property, which are not included in the general indemnity, has been practically concluded. The payments amount to about 5,000,000 taels, of which 3,000,000 are apportioned to Chi-li province.

**JAPAN.**—The Budget shows an ordinary expenditure of 177,000,000 yen and an extraordinary expenditure of 98,000,000 yen, making a total of 275,000,000 yen. It is anticipated that, with the Chinese indemnity included, the revenue will show a surplus of about 21,000,000 yen, which, with the regular 10,000,000 yen of the sinking fund, will be employed in reducing the National Debt.

Six hundred and fifty acres of land has been allotted to Japan at Chappok-pho, near Ma-sam-pho in KOREA, for a special settlement to be policed by Japan.

The veto on grain export has been withdrawn in deference to Japan's remonstrances.

His Excellency Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Minister to Japan, arrived at Yokohama on October 22 last, and met with a cordial reception from the British residents.

**PHILIPPINES.**—Stringent and energetic measures have been taken by the American authorities to suppress the insurrection in Samar. Gunboats are patrolling the Samar coast. Most of the towns in the south of Samar have been destroyed.

**SIAM.**—Mr. Reginald Thomas Tower has been appointed British Minister to Siam.

**SARAWAK.**—The progress of this State in the last ten years is shown by the fact that while the revenue in 1890 was \$413,000, in 1900 it was \$915,966. Kuching, the capital, has nearly doubled in size. The total trade in 1900 amounted to £1,302,498, of which £615,912 was the value of the imports and £686,586 of the exports. The chief exports in order of importance are pepper, sago-flour, guttapercha, gold, and indiarubber.

EGYPT.—The Budget for 1902 is the most satisfactory one hitherto produced, and affords a striking proof of the great increase in the prosperity of the country. The receipts are estimated at £E11,060,000 and the expenditure at £E10,850,000, showing a surplus of £E210,000. Notwithstanding the reduction in taxation by £E60,000, arising from the abolition of the provincial octrois, the revenue exceeds the estimated amount for 1901 by £E360,000.

His Highness the Khedive has made a tour of inspection to Upper Egypt and the Sudan. He was enthusiastically received, especially at Omdurman and Khartum. At the latter place he opened a fine new mosque.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—Mwanga, the ex-King of Uganda and Kabarega, and ex-King of Unyoro, have been deported to the Seychelles Islands.

It was reported that the Mad Mulla in October had with him a large force near the river Tug Der. The English general staff arrived in November at Burao, followed by the mounted infantry and dromedary corps. After the rains and the grass grows the expedition would proceed. Later news is to the effect that the Mulla, with a few adherents, had fled to the deserts of the Italian Protectorate of Mijertain.

Mr. F. J. Jackson, British Vice-Consul in Uganda, has been appointed Deputy Commissioner for the East African Protectorate.

Sir Charles Eliot, the Commissioner, is engaged extending the Administration of the Protectorate to Victoria Nyanza.

Twenty steel bridges for the Uganda Railway are being supplied by the American Bridge Company.

SOUTH AFRICA.—In October last there were no less than 70 recognised commandos and bands of the enemy, ranging from 50 to 400 men, still in the field. Of these, 26 were located in the Transvaal, 31 in the Orange River Colony, and 13 in Cape Colony (10 west of the main Cape line, and 3 in the north-east district). Several most determined fights have occurred, notably one between 1,000 Boers under Delarey and Kekewich's column, in which our loss amounted to 160 killed and wounded. Attacks were made on Forts Itala and Prospect in Zululand by General Louis Botha and Grobelaar, the enemy being repulsed with a loss of over 400 killed and wounded. Another fight occurred near Brakenlaagte, when Botha attacked Colonel Benson's rear-guard under cover of a violent storm, Colonels Benson and Guinness being both shot at the guns. An heroic defence was made for thirty hours, till Colonel Barter came to its relief.

The tedious process of wearing down the enemy's resistance is being carried on with unwearied persistence, and with good results. Owing to the system of blockhouses inaugurated by Lord Kitchener for the protection of the railway line, no break has occurred lately in the communication. The system has been adopted of enclosing large areas with blockhouses. The positions thus enclosed being thoroughly cleared of the enemy and regularly patrolled by constabulary, consequently the enemy's area of operations is gradually being restricted and their number decreased by the work of our columns.



According to the Budget of the Orange River Colony, the revenue for the three months ended September 30 last amounted to £19,700. The receipts for the past twelve months totalled £57,400, while the expenditure amounted to £38,000. In addition, over £173,000 was spent on the refugee camps.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports for the nine months ended September last amounted to £17,665,311, including specie £2,523,568, against £14,113,451, including specie £2,265,700, for the corresponding period of 1900. Exports amounted to £8,478,929, against £5,280,135.

Transvaal trade under the rebate Customs duties was £689,220, against £98,228; Rhodesian trade was £647,283, against £224,613.

Steady progress is being made with the Cape to Cairo telegraph line, which has now reached Ujiji, about two-thirds of the way up the east coast of Lake Tanganyika, from which place there is practically a continuous line to the Cape.

WEST AFRICA.—Advices from Bonny state that Column Three, forming one of the four British detachments engaged in the expedition against the powerful Aro tribes, met with determined resistance on December 2. There were seventeen casualties in the column, including Captain Iles, who was wounded, but not dangerously.

MOROCCO.—The Sultan has announced his intention of effecting thorough reforms in the administration of the prisons, the present condition of which is shocking. The abolition of the restrictions on the inter-port trade of the coast towns has been a most satisfactory measure.

ALGERIA.—The census returns show a population of 4,790,000, of which 292,000 are French colonists and 291,000 foreigners.

CANADA.—The flour millers announce that their growing trade with Australia will be destroyed by the new Australian tariff, which imposes a duty of about \$1 30c. per barrel on hard wheat-flour.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the September quarter last year amounted to \$480,000, which is the second largest in the history of the colony. The Labrador fishery has been practically a failure.

AUSTRALASIA: VICTORIA.—In the Federal House of Representatives, Sir George Turner, the Federal Treasurer, delivered the first Commonwealth Budget statement. He estimated that the taxable value of imports from foreign parts in a normal year would be £21,000,000, and the Commonwealth revenue from Customs and Excise during a normal year would be £8,942,401, divided as follows: New South Wales £3,229,448; Victoria £2,613,366; Queensland £1,354,047; South Australia £684,093; Tasmania £353,439; and Western Australia £708,008. For the current year the revenue from the different sources was estimated as follows: From Customs and Excise, New South Wales £2,360,000; Victoria £2,410,000; Queensland £1,404,000; South Australia £665,000; Western Australia £800,000; Tasmania £370,000; altogether £8,000,000. From Postal and Defence Services £2,330,750. Total Revenue £10,339,760. The *maximum ad valorem* duties amount to 25 per cent., but some duties reach 100 per cent. The Opposition are determined to resist the tariff with their utmost strength.

Mr. Barton undertakes to spend £2,000 yearly for five years to supply the deficiency in the revenue of NEW GUINEA.

The population of the Commonwealth is 3,775,356.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Illingworth, the Treasurer, in delivering his Budget statement last October, estimated the revenue at £3,417,000, being the highest on record, and the expenditure at £3,339,676, including £331,000 for the Commonwealth. The total trade for the year amounted in value to £12,814,232, being an excess of £1,355,058, as compared with the previous year. The gold production from 1886 to September 30 last was valued at £27,726,233.

The Assembly not having voted any confidence, the Government resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed as follows: Mr. Morgans, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Nanson, Commissioner of Lands; Mr. Wilson, Commissioner of Railways; Mr. Quinlan, Commissioner of Public Works; Mr. Moorhead, Attorney-General; and Mr. Moss, Colonial Secretary.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the year 1900-01 was £10,794,333, the expenditure £10,518,000. The total estimated revenue for the current year is £11,000,000, and the expenditure £10,893,000. The Compulsory Industrial Arbitration Bill has passed the Legislative Assembly.

TASMANIA.—The new Governor of the colony, Sir Arthur Havelock, arrived at Hobart in November last.

NEW ZEALAND.—The War Office has recommended, and the King has approved, the selection of General Babington as commander of the forces in the colony.

The Commonwealth tariff is generally considered to be a blow to New Zealand. Mr. Seddon has hinted at a retaliatory tariff.

After a long debate in Parliament, the San Francisco proposals for a mail service have been carried. The Government are urging the Colonial Office to appoint Lord Ranfurly for a further term as Governor.

The revenue for the eight months ended November 30 was £3,387,312, as compared with £3,287,096 for the same period of 1890. The actual receipts so far show an excess of revenue over the estimate for the first eight months of more than £120,000.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—H.H. the Amir of Afghanistan, Amir Abdur-Rahman Khān;—Colonel A. J. O. Pollock, retired (Ashanti war 1873-74);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Moran, M.D., Indian Medical Service (Afghanistan 1878-79);—General W. W. Goodfellow, C.B., R.E. (Persian Expeditionary Force 1856-57, Abyssinia 1867-68);—General Sir A. Lyon Fremantle, G.C.M.G., C.B. (Sudan expedition 1884);—Sir Charles Bernard, late Chief Commissioner in Burma;—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. A. D. Murray, killed in South Africa (Nile expedition and Sudan Frontier 1885-86, Sudan 1898);—Colonel W. F. Curteis, C.B., late 2nd Battalion Cheshire Regiment (Burmese expedition 1887-89);—Vice-Admiral E. H. Murray (Black Sea 1854, Egyptian war 1882);—Major-General Leonard R. Christopher, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny campaign);—The Hon. J. T. Polking-

horne, President of the Natal Legislative Council;—Major J. R. Keatly, R.A.M.C. (Frontier campaign 1897);—Mr. Albert Bridges, Officiating and District Sessions Judge, Dera Ismail Khan;—Lieutenant-General Sir John Willam Cox, Colonel of Prince Albert's (Somersetshire Light Infantry) Regiment (Afghanistan 1840-42, Crimea, Indian campaign 1857-58); Lieutenant H. Blythe Robinson, I.S.C.;—General Sir John Davis, K.C.B. (Mutiny, Sudan 1884-85);—Colonel W. H. Bell-Kingsley, C.B., late 2nd Hampshire Regiment (China 1860, Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1885-87);—Rev. Arthur Stock, formerly Archdeacon of New Zealand;—Admiral E. W. Turnour, C.B. (China 1841, Borneo 1844, Baltic and Black Seas 1854-55, China 1857);—General H. Rose, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Colonel J. Macdougall, late 17th Regiment, Madras, N.I. (Lushai expedition 1871-72, Burma 1886);—Mr. Wyrley Wyrley-Birch, late 88th and 45th Regiments (Crimea, Mutiny);—Lieutenant E. L. Rolland, I.C.S. (North-West Frontier campaign);—Major Little, Hong-Kong Regiment;—Lieutenant A. L. D. Shewell, I.S.C. (North-West Frontier campaign);—General Sir Lloyd William Mathews, Prime Minister and Treasurer of the Zanzibar Government;—Major-General C. V. Jenkins, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign 1857, China war 1858-59);—Captain Basil Culverhouse de Gex, Lancashire Fusiliers (Uganda Punitive Force, Chitral Relief expedition);—Major Robert Johnston (Agent to the Maharaja of Ajudhia);—The Very Rev. Canon José Nazario Pereira, Dean of the Patriarchal See of Goa;—Mr. Charles Leonard, Assistant Principal of the Central College, Bangalore;—Dr. von Krafft, Geological Survey of India;—Sir Frederick James Halliday, formerly Bengal Civil Service, and member of the Council of India;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Elliott (Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Henry Robinson, C.B. (Kafir war 1848, China war 1859-61, Abyssinia 1867-68);—Colonel T. F. Cosby Rochfort, formerly Bengal Cavalry (Mutiny campaign, 1857-58);—Colonel F. E. Webb, formerly 28th Regiment (Dwarka 1859);—Dr. von Siemens;—Major-General J. P. W. Campbell (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Hazara Frontier 1857);—Colonel William Chisholm, formerly Madras Staff Corps (Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. Shearman (Ashanti war 1873-74);—Major-General F. C. Cotton, C.S.I. (First China war;—Surgeon-General W. A. Catherwood, Principal Medical Officer, Bengal (Ashanti 1873-74, Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884);—Colonel T. C. Mander-son, late Royal (Bengal) Engineers;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. H. Pepper (Crimea, China 1862);—Major-General C. J. Tyler, R.A. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Afghan war 1880);—Dr. M. J. White, M.A., LL.D., a foremost educationalist in the N.W. Provinces, and many years Principal of the Canning College at Lucknow;—Captain M. W. H. Lindsay, Seaforth Highlanders, killed in South Africa;—Captain F. T. Thorold, Yorkshire L.I., killed in South Africa (North-West Frontier and Tirah expedition);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. D. Grey, 24th Bengal Native Infantry (Sutlej 1846, Crimea 1855-56);—Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Saunders, 80th Regiment (Bhutan expedition 1865, Transvaal 1878-80);—General H. K. Burne, C.B., Indian Army (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1852-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Patterson, late 32nd Foot (Multan, Gujerat);—Rev.

Francis Hinde, Government Chaplain, and formerly of the Bengal Establishment (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel Napier George Sturt, late R.E. (Abyssinian campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. P. Vance, King's Body-Guard, of the Yeomen of the Guard (Crimea and Indian Mutiny);—Right Rev. W. Chalmers, Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales;—Major G. W. C. Bruce, late 4th Punjāb Infantry (Afghan war 1879, Mahsud Waziri expedition 1880, Hazara expedition 1888);—Admiral Lord Hood of Avalon (Crimea and China wars);—Rev. Joseph Jackson, Church Missionary Society (India);—Admiral Sir W. H. Stewart, C.C.B. (St. Jean d'Acre 1840, Crimean campaign);—Sir J. W. Agnew, formerly Premier of Tasmania;—Mr. J. R. Maxwell, late Judge and Chief Magistrate of the Gambia, West Africa;—Surgeon-General W. G. N. Manley, C.B., V.C. (Crimea, New Zealand 1864-66, Franco-Prussian war 1870, Afghan war 1878-79, Egyptian war 1882);—Major C. J. Lindam, late 10th Foot and Rifle Brigade (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Kafir war 1847-48);—Colonel D. Milne-Home (Egypt 1882);—Sirdar Bhagat Singh, C.I.E., Minister of Kapurthala State;—Rev. J. Davis, an old member of the British community in Egypt;—Mr. Edward Emmerson Oliver, M.I.C.E., a well-known engineer on the Indian Establishment and an author of repute;—Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, an Oriental scholar;—Major Clement Walker-Heneage, V.C. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel A. Gell Cochran, Royal Marine Light Infantry (Egypt 1882);—Mr. Patrick Duncan, a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, late of the Indian Public Works Department;—Lieutenant-Colonel D. W. G. James, late 2nd Foot (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844, Kafir war 1851-52, Orange River 1852-53);—Colonel H. J. Jepson, late 102nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers (Goomsoor, 1847-48);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. P. Spankie, of the Indian Staff Corps, Cantonment Magistrate at Nowgong, and formerly Assistant Judge Advocate-General in the Madras command (Afghan war 1878-80);—Captain H. W. Thierens, R.N. (Zulu wars 1877-79);—Mr. Herewald Cranford Wake, C.B., formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service, Bengal.

*December 13, 1901.*

## APPENDIX

IN response to the wishes of many of our readers, we have reproduced the titles of the articles which have appeared in this Review from its commencement (January, 1886) up to the end of 1901, which we hope will be found useful for reference, etc.

## JANUARY, 1886. VOL. I. NO. 1.

- ✓ 1. SIR L. GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. : "Restitution of the Fort of Gwalior."
2. SIR G. BIRDWOOD, K.C.S.I. : "The Christmas Tree."
3. COLONEL SIR T. O. BURNE, K.C.S.I. : "Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn."
4. COLONEL H. YULE, C.B. : "Hobson-Jobsoniana."
5. PROFESSOR DOUGLAS : "China and Burma."
6. PROFESSOR VAMBÉRY : "The Turks in Persia and the Caucasus."
- ✓ 7. D. BOULGER : "Early English Enterprise in the Far East."
8. COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I. : "The Childhood of Akbar."
9. J. G. SCOTT (SHWAY YOE) : "The Chinese Brave."

## APRIL, 1886. VOL. I. NO. 2.

1. COUNTESS DUFFERIN : "Female Medical Aid for the Women of India."
2. D. BOULGER : "The Meeting of India and China."
3. COLONEL SIR C. WILSON, K.C.B., ETC. : "What is to be done with the Sūdān?"
4. SIR JULAND DANVERS : "The Public Works and Progress of India."
5. MAJOR-GENERAL F. J. GOLDSMID : "The Political Geography of Asia."
6. W. G. PEDDER : "Village Sanitation in India."
7. A. N. WOLLASTON : "The Pilgrimage to Mecca."
8. F. C. DANVERS : "The English Connection with Sumatra."
9. J. M. MACLEAN : "Boycotted Silver."
10. SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. : "Native India."

## JULY, 1886. VOL. II. NO. 3.

1. SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. : "Native India—Princes and People."
2. CAPTAIN CONDER : "The Aryans in Syria."
- ✓ 3. H. H. RISLEY : "Primitive Marriage in Bengal."
4. JAMES HUTTON : "India before the Mohammedan Conquest."
5. SIR L. S. JACKSON, C.I.E. : "Bengal—A Retrospect."
6. DEMETRIUS BOULGER : "Afghan Politics."
7. SIR R. L. PLAYFAIR, K.C.M.G. : "The True Story of the Occupation of Perim."
8. "The Afghan Conquest of Persia" (unpublished correspondence).

## OCTOBER, 1886. VOL. II. NO. 4.

1. W. W. HUNTER, C.S.I., ETC. : "The Hindu Child-Widow."
2. D. BOULGER : "England's Two Allies in Asia."
3. E. ARNOLD, C.S.I. : "Basti Singh's Wife."
4. SIR E. BUCK : "The Utility of Exhibitions to India."
5. MISS E. CLERKE : "Arabic Analogies in Western Speech."
6. DR. G. W. LEITNER : "Jihād."
7. REV. E. G. PUNCHARD, D.D. : "Sikhs and Sikhism."
8. B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. : "English Legislation in India."
- ✓ 9. REV. J. EDKINS, D.D. : "Chinese Schools of Thought in the Age of Mencius."
10. JAMES HUTTON : "India under the Mohammedans."
11. "ASIATICUS" : "The Importance of Constantinople."

## JANUARY, 1887. VOL. III. No. 5.

1. MARQUIS TSENG: "China—The Sleep and the Awakening."
2. COLONEL SIR O. T. BURNE, K.C.S.I.: "The Empress of India."
3. COLONEL SIR C. WILSON, K.C.B.: "The Greeks in Asia." ✓
4. COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.: "Famous Women of India."
5. H. F. HARRISON SMITH: "The Pacification of the Sūdān" (with a map).
6. JAMES HUTTON: "India Pacified and Purified." ✓
7. W. G. PEDDER, C.S.I.: "Early History and Legends of Gujarāt."
8. COLONEL W. KINCAID: "The Indian Bourbons."
9. LORD DE MAULEY: "The Wellesleys in India."
10. "ASIATICUS": "The Eastern Question."

## APRIL, 1887. VOL. III. No. 6.

1. PRIME MINISTER OF INDORE: "Social Intercourse between the Ruled and the Rulers in India."
2. SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: "The Public Service of India."
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- ✓ 6. MARCUS ADLER: "The Health Laws of the Bible and Jewish Longevity."
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14. MISS L. N. BADENOCH (revised by HIS EXCELLENCY A. HOFFNUNG, Chargé d'Affaires in England, and the Hawaiian Foreign Office): "Hawaii."
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3. P. HORDERN (late Director of Public Instruction, Burma): "An Episode in Burmese History" (a contribution to the history of indigenous Oriental education).
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1. "Ave, Kaisar-i-Hind!" a pæan in Persian and Arabic, the chronograms giving the date 1893, followed by an Urdu prize-translation of the "National Anthem."
2. SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.: "Russianized Officialism in India: The Fly in the Ointment."

3. JOHN DACOSTA: "Our Indian Trans-frontier Expeditions: their Aim and their Result."
4. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Recent Events in Chilas and Chitral" (illustrated); portrait of, and letters from, Mihar Nizam-ul-Mulk of Chitral.
5. A Chinese Official View on "The Opium Question."
6. F. T. PIGGOTT (late Legal Adviser to the Japanese Cabinet): "The Japan Constitution." II. Exterritoriality and Portugal."
7. PHILLO-AFRICANUS: "Uganda."
8. ROBERT BEADON: "The Solution of the Colonial Question: Definite Proposals of the Imperial Federation League."
9. CHARLES JOHNSTON, B.C.S. (retired): "The Yellow Men of India."
10. CHARLES G. LELAND: "The Salagrama, or Holy Stone."
11. PROFESSOR G. DUGAT: "Unedited Fragments of Arabic Anthology."
12. A. COTTERELL TUPP (late Accountant-General, Bombay): "The Monetary Conference and Plans to restore Silver."
13. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Customs and History of Dardistan [illustrated] (Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Gilgit, Yasin, Hunza, Nagyr, Chitral, and Kafirstan)."
14. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND: "A Marriage Custom of the Aborigines of Bengal: a Study in the Symbolism of Marriage Ceremonies."

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1. GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, V.C., K.C.B.: I. "Burman Dacoity and Patriotism." II. "Burmese Politics."
2. TAW SEIN KO (Burmese Lecturer, Cambridge): "The Chins and the Kachins."
3. THE HON. JUSTICE J. JARDINE (Bombay): "Indian Official Opinions on Trial by Jury."
4. C. D. FIELD, LL.D. (late Judge, High Court, Calcutta): "Trial by Jury in Bengal."
5. "AN EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL": "Amir Abdurrahman Khan and the Press."
6. MULEY 'ALI BEN 'ABD ES-SELAM (Shereef of Wazan): "The Strained Relations between England and Morocco."
7. SAFIR BEY, AR-RASHIDI: "The Neutralization of Egypt."
8. "AN ANGLO-INDIAN COLONIAL": "The Australian Colonies as a Field for Retired Anglo-Indians."
9. PANDIT JOWALA SAHAYA: "The Samvat Era: a Contribution to the Vikramaditya Controversy."
10. V. A. SMITH, C.S.: "Notes on Indian Numismatics to the end of 1892." ✓
11. DR. G. W. LEITNER: Oriental Translations: I. "The National Anthem."
12. GENERAL J. G. R. FORLONG: "The Two Stages in Buddha's Teaching."
13. RAJA SIR SOURINDRO MOHUN TAGORE, K.C.I.E.: "A Sanscrit Prean."
14. SIR EDWIN ARNOLD K.C.I.E.: "The First Ghazal of Hafiz."
15. G. W. L.: "Persian Chronograms on Mr. W. E. Gladstone." Urdu and Turkish Verses.—"An Oriental Echo," by R. A.
16. HIS EXCELLENCY A. HOPFNUNG (Hawalan Chargé d'Affaires in London): "The Recent Revolution in Hawaii."
17. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Dardistan: Discoveries regarding the Secret Religion of the Mulais of the Hindukush, and its Relation to the Druses of the Lebanon and to the so-called 'Assassins' of the Crusades."  
"Allusions in the Classics to the Dards and to Greek Influence in India."
18. THE LATE SIR P. COLOUGHOUN AND HIS LATE EXCELLENCY P. WASSA PASHA: "Homeric Facts and Fiction"—"The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants."
19. R. SEWELL, M.C.S.: "Cattle-Raiders and their Literature."—"Miscellaneous Notes of the Late Sir W. Elliott."
20. DAIGORO GOH: "The Growing Importance of the Japanese Language."
21. "THE SUB-EDITOR A.Q.R.": "Sea-Voyages by Hindus."

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1. THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B.: "The Defence of India."
2. MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL: "The Proposed Changes in the Indian Army."
3. SIR LEPEL H. GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.: "Is India Safe?"
4. "HISTORICUS": "The Afghan Dilemma."
5. P. GAULT: "Russian Turkistan."
6. "RESIDENT": "The Franco-Siam Impasse."
7. MUANG-THAI: "France and Siam."
8. W. MARTIN WOOD: "The Home Charges of the Government of India."
9. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Indians in England and the India Civil Service."
10. FRANCIS PARRY, F.R.G.S.: "The Capabilities of Eastern Ibea."
11. J. CASTELL HOPKINS: "The Position of Canada."
12. COMMANDANT E. AYMONIER: "History of Tchampa" (now Annam).
13. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE: "Where was Mount Sinai?"
14. DR. LEITNER: "The Kelám-i-Pir" and "Esoteric Muhammadanism."
15. R. A. STERNDALE: "Indian Hill Stations for Retired Anglo-Indians."
16. PANDIT INDRAVARMA SARASWATI: "The Oriental Weather in England."
17. ARTHUR DRISY: "Yamato Damashi-i; or, The Spirit of Old Japan."

18. The late SIR P. COLQUHOUN and the late WASSA PASHA : "The Pelasgic Origin of the Homeric Poems"—"The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants."
19. R. SEWELL, M.C.S. : "Witchcraft among the Indian Kols and the Zulu and Amakosa Kafirs."—"Miscellaneous Notes of the Late Sir W. Elliott."
20. DR. LEITNER : "Dardistan : Legends—Routes and Wars in Chilas."

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1. GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHELMSFORD, G.C.B. : "The Defence of India." Part II.—A so a Reply to Criticism.
2. A. MICHIE : "The Alliance of China and India."
3. "EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL" : "Facts about the Alleged Afghan Treaty."
4. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E. : "The Spoilation of Landlords and Tenants in Behar : The Cadastral Corvée."
5. J. B. PENNINGTON, M.C.S. (retired) : "The Evils of the Salt Monopoly in India and the Opium Agitation."
6. G. H. LE MAISTRE : "The Gradual Extinction of the Burmese Race."
7. DR. G. W. LEITNER : "The 'Cow-killing' Riots in India : their Causes and Cure."
8. THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE : "A Note on the Imperial British East Africa Co. and its Last Proposals" (with map of its territory).
9. THE HON. J. L. PARSONS : "Australia for Anglo-Indians"—A Rejoinder.
10. A. SILVA WHITE : "The Imperial Institute and the Colonies."
11. COMMANDANT E. AYMONIER : "History of Tchampa" (now Annam or Cochin-China).
12. CHARLES JOHNSTON, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Red Rajputs."
13. A. ROGERS, B.C.S. (retired) (late Member Bombay Executive Council) : "The Rajput Legend of Jagdev Parmar" (in English verse).
14. "The Sacred Books of the East"—GENERAL J. G. R. FORLONG : "Pahlavi Texts and the Chronology of the Zendavesta."
15. DR. G. W. LEITNER : "Dardistan in 1893, and the Treaty with Kashmir," followed by "Observations on Twelve Dards and Kafirs in my Service" (with "and comparative tabular statements).
16. DR. J. BEDDOE, M.D., F.R.S. : "Note" on the above "Observations."
17. THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN and HIS LATE EXCELLENCY P. WASSA PASHA : "The Coincidence in Ancient and Modern Pelasgic Manners."—"The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants."
18. R. SEWELL, M.C.S. : "The Early History of Cholera."—"Miscellaneous Notes of the Late Sir Walter Elliott."
19. MISS L. N. BADENOCH : "Indian Tussur Silk and our Seri-Cultural Outlook" (illustrated with drawings and a specimen of Tussur silk).

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1. TRIMBAKAL JADAVRAI DESAI : "A Sanscrit New Year's Stanza."
2. GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, K.C.B. : "England and France in Indo-China."
3. "EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL" : "The Check to 'The Forward Policy' in Afghanistan."
4. SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. : "Maharaja Duleep Singh" (with his signed photograph, and Reminiscences by Dr. G. W. Leitner and Baron Tector de Ravis).
5. "SENEX" : "An Invertebrate Viceroyalty."
6. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E. : "The New Viceroy and Our Indian Protectorate."
7. THE HON. JUSTICE J. JARDINE : "A University for Burma."
8. JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Last Indian Census."
9. DR. G. W. LEITNER : "Cow-killing Riots, Seditious Pamphlets, and the Indian Police."
10. BERTRAM ... : "The Amandebili (Matabili) Question."
11. REV. JOSÉ ... D.D. : "Melilla and the Moors."
12. "THE SUB-EDITOR A.Q.R." : "The Collapse of the Imperial Federation League."
13. PROFESSOR F. ROBIQU : "Egyptian and Babylonian Triads."
14. SURGEON-MAJOR L. A. WADDELL : "The Sects of Lamaism."
15. "The Sacred Books of the East"—"Texts of Confucianism," by FUNG HOU WONG and other reviewers.—"Texts of Taoism," J. BEAMES.
16. GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL (Madras Army) : "Russia in Oriental Literature."
17. The late SIR P. COLQUHOUN and the late WASSA PASHA : "Homeric and Albanian Analogies"—"The Pelasgi and their Modern Descendants" (*conclusion*).
18. DR. G. W. LEITNER : "Græco-Buddhist Sculptures" (with illustrations).
19. MULJI DEVI VEDANT : "A Brahmin at the Chicago World's Fair."
20. Elginiana—The Alleged Pledges of the Indian Viceroy—The Three Elgins, Lord Elgin on 'Home Rule and the Black Man,' and his Last Speech at Dunfermline."

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*The Indian Finance and Currency Crisis.*

1. SIR HENRY STUART CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E. : "Indian Finance Troubles."
2. LESLEY C. PROBYN (late Accountant-General, Madras) : "The Indian Monetary Problem."
3. "AN INDIAN BANKER" : "Currency."

*Afghan Affairs and the Central Asian Settlement.*

4. DR. G. W. LEFTNER: "The Amir Abdurrahman and Great Britain" (with H.H.'s portraits and a facsimile of his letter on his feelings towards, and visit to, England). "The Granville-Gortchakoff Convention of 1873."
5. JOHN A. GRAY (late Surgeon to H.H. the Amir): "Progress in Afghanistan."
6. MAJOR H. C. RAVERTY (late Bombay Infantry): "The Independent Afghan or Pathan Tribes."
7. SIR G. J. GOLDIE, K.C.M.G.: "French Ambitions in Africa."
8. H. R. MACKAY: "Colonial Federation and Federal Defence."
- ✓ 9. W. SIMPSON, Hon., F.R.I.B.A.: "Oriental Art and Archaeology."
10. DR. A. LINCKE: "Continuation of the Names Assyria and Nineveh."
11. DR. L. A. WADDELL: "The Eucharist of the Lamas."
12. "The Sacred Books of the East"—C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa."—THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.: "The True Nature and Interpretation of the Yi-King."
13. T. W. NEILL, I.C.S.: "The Recent Legislation for the Relief of the Dekhan Ryots."
14. W. IRVINE, B.C.S. (retired): "The Political History of the Sikhs by Contemporary Authors."
15. H. H. RISLEY, C.I.E.: "The Progress of Anthropology in India."
16. THE REV. DR. CHOTZNER, D.D.: "The Hebrew Woman."

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1. B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. (late Judge, Chief Court, Punjab): "Is the State the Owner of all Land in India?"
2. JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Musulmans of Bengal."
3. SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "The Protected Princes of India."
4. PANDIT UMEY SHANKAR MISRA, M.A.: "Pereat India; Floreat Manchester—The Indian Cotton Duties."
5. "ANGLO-AFRICAN": "The East African Question" and "The Anglo-Congo Agreement."
6. J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.: "The Currency Problem in the British Empire."
- ✓ 7. HORMUZD RASSAM: "History of Assyrian and Babylonian Discoveries."
8. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "The Vidyodaya"—a Sanscrit Journal.
- ✓ 9. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Jaina Texts and Prakrit Studies."—THE RIGHT REVEREND MONSIEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.: "The Ancient Chinese Books of Divination."
10. THE RIGHT HON. LORD DE MAULEY: "Hugh Rose—Lord Strathnairn, G.C.B."
11. CHARLES JOHNSTON, B.C.S. (retired): "Prjevalski's Last Journey."
12. MAJOR R. POORE: "Ancestral Worship in China and 'Family Worth-ship' in England, as a Practical Basis of Efficient State-Administration."
13. THE EDITOR: "Biographies (with portraits) of the Present and the Two Preceding Chiefs of the Ismailians, the Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain, the so-called 'Assassins' of the Crusades."
14. R. SEWELL, M.C.S.: "Coronation Ceremonies of Travancore."—"Miscellaneous Notes of the Late Sir Walter Elliot."
15. THE EDITOR: "Badakhshan: its History, Topography and People."

## OCTOBER, 1894. VOL. VIII. NO. 16.

1. A Persian Letter (facsimile with translation) from His Highness the Amir Abdurrahman on the Durand Mission and his Relations to England since 1881.

*Korea and the Far East.*

2. THE SUB-EDITOR: "Existing Material regarding Korea."
3. CONSUL G. HAYASHI: "Korean Affairs: a Japanese View."
4. "A CHINESE OFFICIAL": "The Chinese View."
5. ERNEST OPPERT: "The Korean Question."
6. J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.: "An International Guarantee of Korean Independence."
7. GENERAL A. R. MACMAHON: "England and China in the Far East."
8. MEI NAM KONG: "The Siamese Blue-Book and the Present Condition of Siam Affairs."
9. C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.: "Law and Administration in the French Colonies and Protectorates of the Far East."
10. SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "Indian Land and Irish Policy."
11. ION PRIDICARIS: "The Situation in Morocco."
12. J. LAMBERT PAYNE (Secretary of the Ottawa Conference): "The Ottawa Conference."
13. J. CASTELL-HOPKINS: "Imperialism at the Intercolonial Conference."
14. TONY ANDRÉ: "Proceedings of the Geneva Oriental Congress."
- ✓ 15. W. IRVINE, B.C.S. (retired): "The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India."
- ✓ 16. "The Sacred Books of the East"—GENERAL J. G. R. FORLONG: "The Zend-avesta; Part I. The Vendidad."—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts."

17. THE EDITOR: "Badakhshan: its History, Topography and People."
18. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Indigenous Oriental Education." I. Muhammadan.
19. MRS. C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.: "On Symbolism and Symbolic Ceremonies of the Japanese" (illustrated).

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1. Persian Chronogram for 1895 and Japanese New Year's Wish and Symbols (with illustration).
2. SIR E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, M.P.: "The War between China and Japan."
3. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "Progress in Mysore."
4. "EX-PANJAB OFFICIAL": "Afghan Affairs and Waziristan."
5. CAPTAIN G. V. TARNOVSKI: "Russia and England in Central Asia." I.  
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6. HORMUZD RASSAM: "Results of a Local Enquiry."
7. SAFIR EFENDI: "The Armenian Agitation."
8. C. D. COLLET: "The New Crusade against the Turk."
9. "SCRUTATOR": "The Madras Landowners' Grievances."
10. ION PERDICARIS: "The Situation in Morocco."
11. CAPTAIN S. PASFIELD OLIVER: "The Hova View on the Madagascar Question" (with map).
12. F. FAITHFULL BEGG: "Some Practical Aspects of Imperialism."
13. R. A. STERNDAL: "St. Helena—The Gibraltar of the S. Atlantic."
14. THE RIGHT REV. MONSIEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ: "The Vih-King."
15. THE REV. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, D.D.: "Three Hymns of Zoroaster"
16. THE REV. RABBI H. GOLLANCZ: "The Sacrifice of Isaac."
17. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Questions of King Milinda."—DR. G. W. LEITNER: "An Introduction to the Study of the Korán."
18. MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY: "The Afghan Waziris and their Country."
19. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN: "The Chinese Viceroyalty of Manchuria."
20. A. G. C. VAN DUYL: "Dutch Success in Acheen and the Acheenese."
21. THE EDITOR: "Revelations regarding Badakhshan: its History."
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*Conditions of Indian Legislation.*
2. C. D. FIELD, LL.D. (late Judge, High Court, Calcutta): "The Mandate to the Legislative Council of India."— "The Cotton Duties."
3. J. W. NEILL, I.C.S.: "Lord Elgin on the Obligations of Members of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General."

*England and China.*

4. COLONEL MARK BELL, V.C., C.B.: "China's Future: a Study."
5. GENERAL A. R. MACMAHON: "The Anglo-Chinese Convention and the Burmese Frontier."
6. SIR G. T. GOLDIE, K.C.M.G.: "The Hausa Association."
7. "ANGLO-AFRICAN": "East Africa and the Nile."
8. A. F. CALVERT: "Western Australia."
9. C. H. TAWNEY: "The Sankhya Philosophy."—"The Migration of Tales."
10. "The Sacred Books of the East"—J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Upanishads."—M. S. HOWELL, C.I.E., LL.D.: I. "The Qurán: Meaning of the Word." II. "The Translation."
11. CAPTAIN G. E. GERINI (Royal Siamese Service): "Trial by Ordeal in Siám and the Siamese Law of Ordeals."
12. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN: "The Chinese Viceroyalty of Manchuria."
13. A. G. C. VAN DUYL: "Dutch Success in Acheen and the Acheenese." II.
14. R. SEWELL, M.C.S.: "St. Thomas the Apostle and the Syrian Church in India."—"Miscellaneous Notes of the Late Sir W. Elliott."

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1. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART, G.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., D.C.L., M.P.: "India in Parliament in 1894-95 and the Situation in India."
2. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "The Protest of the Madras Landowners."
3. "AN ANGLO-INDIAN": "The Native Press of India."
4. G. W. LEITNER, Ph.D., LL.D., D.O.L.: "The Future of Chitrál and Neighbouring Countries" (with maps and portrait of H. H. the late Nizám-ul-Mulk).
5. HORMUZD RASSAM: "The Armenian Question."
6. ABDULLAH ASH-SHÁMI: "The British Occupation of Egypt."
7. "ANGLO-AFRICAN": "British East Africa."
8. A. G. C. VAN DUYL: "The Transvaal, the Swazis, and the War with Makato."

9. THE HON. SIR ROBERT STOUT, K.C.M.G.: "New Zealand."
10. THE RIGHT REV. MONSEIGNEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.: "The Yih-King: the Chinese Book of Divination." II.
11. BABU SARAT CHANDRA DAS, C.I.E.: "Buddhist Ontology and Nirvana."
12. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Jaina-Sutras." Part II.
13. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., D.C.I.: "Sir Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy," with opinions on the same subject by GENERAL SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNES, K.C.S.I.; GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, V.C., K.C.B.; COLONEL G. B. MAULESON, C.S.I.; and "ANGLO-INDIAN."
14. CAPTAIN GEORGE V. TARNOVSKI: "Transcaspia and Khurasan."
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16. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "The Official Prayer of Islam and its Libellers."
17. THE EDITOR: "The Shahzada's Visit and the Woking Mosque," with remarks by SIR LEFEL GRIFFIN, SIR NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, and GENERAL A. R. E. HUTCHINSON.

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1. LESLEY C. PROBYN, B.C.S. (retired), late Accountant-General, Madras: "The Indian Monetary Problem."
2. J. D. REES, M.C.S., C.I.E.: "India Past and Present."
3. R. CARSTAIRS, B.C.S.: "Suggestions for Improving our Position in India." I.
4. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "New Dangers and Fresh Wrongs." I. The Chitral Blue-book and Kafirstán (with illustrations): II. Suppressed Treaties and an Ignored Proclamation.
5. SIR ROGER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "The Sovereign Princes of India and their Relation to the Empire" (a lecture).
6. Opinions on the Subject by—  
C. L. TUPPER, B.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Panjab Government (a reply).  
W. LEE-WARNER, C.S.I., resident of Mysore (a letter).  
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7. CAPTAIN S. PASFIELD OLIVER: "French Progress in the Western Soudan: 1894-95" (with maps).
8. J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.: "Newfoundland and French Fishing Rights."
9. THE RIGHT REV. MONSEIGNEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.: "The Yih-King" (the Chinese book of divination).
10. THE REV. PROFESSOR C. W. SKARSTEDT, D.D.: "Phœnician Colonization in Scandinavia."
11. THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "Trishtup in the Gátha."
12. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Sacred Laws of the Aryas." Part I. Apastamba and Gautama.
13. MRS. C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.: "Bonku or Bommatsuri—The Japanese Festival in Honour of the Dead."
14. EDITOR: "Rough Chronological History of Badakhshán, etc."

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2. THE RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD GARTH, P.C.: "India and Lancashire."
3. "A TERRITORIAL MAHARAJA: "The Sovereign Princes of India and their Relation to the Empire"—Retrospect and Prospect.
4. R. CARSTAIRS, B.C.S.: "Hints for Improving our Position in India." II.
5. MANOMOHAN GHOSE (Barrister-at-Law): "Judicial Independence in India."
6. A. MICHIE: "Our Interest in China."
7. COLONEL MARK BELL, V.C., C.B.: "The Dungan Rebellion and Hankow."
8. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "The Khalifa Question and the Sultan of Turkey" (with the portraits of the last and present Sultans and of the Heir-apparent). I.
9. CAPTAIN S. PASFIELD OLIVER, R.A.: "French African Pioneers" ("Les Pionniers Africains," with a map of Ile St. Marie).
10. W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.: "The Straits Settlements." I. Its Early History.
11. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "A Modern Hindu Saint."—"The Bráhma Alphabet."
12. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "The Origin of the Bnê-Israel."
13. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Sacred Laws of the Aryas." Part II.
14. WALTER R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E.: "Kashmir."
15. J. GEORGE SCOTT, C.I.E.: "The Wild Wa—A Head-Hunting Race."
16. JAMSHID, THE SHAH POSH KAFIR: "Slavery, etc., in Kabul."
17. DR. E. SCHNICKER and BARON H. DE REUTER: "The Eugubine Tables and an Oscan Inscription."



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2. GENERAL A. R. MCMAHON: "The Mekong-Menam Arrangement."
3. W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.: "The Mekong Treaty—The Malay Peninsula."
4. MUANG-THAI: "The Future of Siam from a Siamese Standpoint."
5. BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI: "A French View of the Question."
6. EDITOR: "The Siam . . . of India Government" (a note).
7. A. K. CONNELL: "T . . . of India."
8. COLONEL H. C. E. WARD, C.I.E.: "Difficulties of Indian District Officers."
9. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "Kafiristan and the Khalifa Question."
10. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. ELSDALE, R.E.: "The Problem of the Races in Africa."
11. W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.: "The Straits Settlements." II. The Protected Malay States.
12. THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "Zoroastrian Lore—Yasna XI.III."
13. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "The Mahābhārata—The Sāṃkhya Philosophy."
14. PROFESSOR J. LEGGE: "Schlegel's Parallelism in Chinese Style."
15. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
16. MONSIEUR PROFESSOR C. DE HARLEZ, D.D.: "Chavannes' Se-ma-Ts'ien."
17. "The Sacred Books of the East"—J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Buddhist Suttas."  
—"The Jataka Māla."
18. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E.: "Japanese Village Communities."
19. R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "Twenty-five Years After India."
20. A. ROGERS (late of Bombay Legislative Council): "Gujarāt."
21. A. NUNDY: "Origin and Aims of the Indian National Congress."

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*China: Political, Historical and Topographical.*

1. "BEHIND THE SCENES": "The Far Eastern Question."
2. E. H. PARKER: "The Earliest Relations between Russia and China."
3. COLONEL MARK BELL, V.C., C.B.: "The Country of the Dungan Rebellion" (with an editorial note on the latest news of the Mussulman rising in China, and an extract from Dr. Bretschneider's map of China).

*India: Imperial and Provincial.*

4. CAPTAIN F. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E.: "India and Africa."
5. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E.: "Tribal Law in the Panjab."
6. A. ROGERS (late of the Bombay Legislative Council): "Bombay and Madras Land Settlements."

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7. MIRZA HUSAIN KULI KHAN: "The Late Shah of Persia and his Successor."
8. "SOUTH AFRICAN": "The South African Problem and the Government."
9. JUDGE T. BERWICK: "British Rule in Ceylon."
10. A. W. TOCKE: "Utmost Indian Isle—Taprobane."
11. MONSIEUR C. DE HARLEZ: "Chinese Divination: The Yih-King."
12. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
13. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Thibaut's 'Vedānta Sūtras.'"
14. MRS. C. M. SALWEY: "Japanese Monographs."—"The Festival of the Cherry Blossom."—"Tattooing."
- ✓ 15. J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "A Plain Account of Buddhism." Part I.
16. J. B. PENNINGTON, M.C.S. (retired): "Tinnevely, Before and After the British Conquest."

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1. SIR CHARLES A. ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I. (late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal): "The Separation of Judicial from Executive Power in India."
2. GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST, K.C.B., V.C.: "The Indian Army."
3. "AN OLD POLITICAL": "The Jurisdictions of the Indian Princes and of the Paramount Power."
4. SIR R. LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "The Indian Cotton Duties and Imperial Commercial Federation."
5. "A FRONTIER MISSIONARY": "The Amir's Pæan, the Mitāi Valley and the Kāfirs."
6. E. H. PARKER: "The Conscience of Corea."
7. DR. K. N. BAHADURJI: "The Medical Needs of India."
8. ABULLAH SHĀMI: "The Druse Rising in the Hauran" (with map).
9. ION PERDICARIS: "The Condition of Morocco."
10. R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "The Transvaal and the Matabele Rising."
11. "EX-OFFICIAL": "Hong-kong."
12. "AN OLD CHINA MERCHANT": "Hong-kong and Li Hung Chang."
13. PANDIT H. H. DHURVA, LL.B.: "Indian Dramatics; the Bharata Śāstra."
14. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."

15. M. S. HOWELL, LL.D., C.I.E.: "Native and European Arabic Grammarians."
16. "AN ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEWER": "The Five Zoroastrian Gāthas."
17. "The Sacred Books of the East"—THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "Pahlavi Texts."
18. "ANGLO-SINICUS": "Six British Ministers in China."
19. MRS. C. M. SALWEY: "Japanese Monographs—The Boys' Festival."
20. REV. J. CHOTZNER, D.D.: "Curious Biblical Proper Names."
21. CONSUL E. DE LEÓN AND OTHERS: "Abyssinia and the Abyssinians (with map)."

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1. A New Year's Wish from Ceylon—Singhala to Angula.
2. THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: "The Privy Council as Judges of Hindu and Muhammadan Law."
3. COLONEL H. B. HANNA: "The Truth about the Indian Army."
4. C. D. FIELD, LL.D. (late Judge, High Court, Calcutta): "Executive v. Judicial in Lower Bengal."
5. LESLEY C. PROBYN (late Accountant-General, Madras): "The Present Famine and the Rupee."
6. "EX-OFFICIAL": "Sun Yat Sun, General Gordon and Li Hung Chang."
7. BARON TERTOR DE RAVIN: "The Royal Niger Company's Expedition."
8. A. G. VAN DUYL: "The Origin of the Gold Myth—an Episode in Rhodesian History."
9. E. H. PARKER: "The French in Indo-China."
10. A. VAN DUYL: "The Dutch in Atjeh."
11. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "Essays by Sanscritists—the Gurupuja Kaumudi."
12. DR. KARL VOLLERS (Cairo): "The Egyptian Chronicle of Ibn Iyās."
13. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies."
14. PROFESSOR M. J. DE GOEJE: "Native and European Arabic Grammarians."
15. "The Sacred Books of the East"—THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "The Zend-Avesta."
16. COLONEL KENNEY HERBERT: "Anglo-Indian Cookery."
17. JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "A Plain Account of Buddhism." Part II.
18. "AN INDIAN CIVILIAN": "A Neglected Literary Field," (with proposals for its cultivation by W. IRVINE, JOHN BEAMES, H. BEVERIDGE, and R. WILSON).

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1. SIR DIETRICH BRANDIS, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S.: "Indian Forestry."
2. C. D. FIELD, LL.D.: "The Government and the Judges of the Calcutta High Court."
3. "A VOICE FROM BOMBAY": "Inter Terrores Silent Leges."
4. P. P. PILLAI: "The Madras Landholders' Grievances."
5. "AN ANATOLIAN PASHA": "Control of Turkish Reforms in Asia and Europe."—"The Hauran Druses."
6. E. H. PARKER: "Modern Russia and Asiatic Traditions."
7. C. F. HAKFORD BATTERSBY, M.A., M.D.: "Bida and Benin."
8. R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "The Treatment of Natives of India in Natal."
9. J. CASTELL HOPKINS: "Canada in 1896 and 1897."—"Canada Under the Queen."
10. DR. KARL VOLLERS: "The Egyptian Chronicle of Ibn Iyās."
11. REV. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A., and M. S. HOWELL, LL.D., C.I.E.: "The Semitic Series of the 'Anecdota Oxoniensia.'"
12. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
13. "The Sacred Books of the East"—THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "Zoroastrianism" (Pehlvi Texts).
14. "EX-FRONTIER OFFICIAL": "Gems and Spots in Lord Roberts' 'Forty-one Years in India.'"
15. E. H. PARKER: "The Life, Labours and Doctrines of Confucius," with map, specimens of Confucius' handwriting and eight pictures from a Chinese Book.

## JULY, 1897. VOL. IV. No. 7.

1. Her Majesty as "Kaisar-i-Hind."
2. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "India in the Sixteenth Victorian Year."
3. HORMUZZ RASSAM: "The Tigris-Mesopotamian Railway and India."
4. E. H. PARKER: "The Burma-China Trade Convention."
5. TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.: "Suggested Reforms for China."
6. MISS H. E. COLENSO: "The Problem of the Races in South Africa."
7. F. FAITHFULL BEGG, M.P.: "The Colonies at the Victorian Commemoration."
8. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
9. M. S. HOWELL, LL.D., C.I.E.: "European and Native Grammarians of Arabic" (a reply to Professor de Goeje).
10. R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "The Past and Future of the International Congresses of Orientalists."
11. THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.: "The Poets of the Tamil Lands."
12. "The Sacred Books of the East"—THE REV. L. H. MILLS, D.D.: "Zoroastrianism" (Pahlvi Texts. Part III.).

13. E. H. PARKER: "Siam."
14. R. SEWELL, M.C.S. (retired): "India before the English." ‡
15. J. D. B. GRIBBLE: "The Forgotten Vizcanagram Treaty."
16. MRS. C. M. SALWEY: "Japanese Monographs." IV. How to make Gardens in Japan.
17. P. E. WOLTER: "The First Diamond Pioneer in South Africa."

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2. DR. G. W. LEITNER: "The Amir, the Frontier Tribes, and the Sultan."
3. "A BENGAL CIVILIAN": "Elements of Unrest in India."
4. TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.: "Suggested Reforms for China."
5. SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E. "Judicial and Executive Functions in India."
6. F. FAWCETT: "The Moplas of Malabar" (with an illustration).
7. M. GASTER, PH.D.: "The Return of the Jews to Palestine and the Zionist Movement."
8. R. N. CUST, LL.D.: "Africa in 1897."
9. ION PERDICARIS: "Piracy in Morocco."
10. LEONARD H. WEST, LL.D.: "British North Borneo."
11. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies."—"Report of the Paris International Congress of Orientalists" (September, 1897).
12. THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.: "The Poets of the Tamil Lands."
13. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Vedic Hymns and the Hymns of the Atharvaveda."
14. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.: "Buddhist Law."
15. GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.: "Two Retrospects in Egypt."
16. MAJOR-GENERAL G. G. ALEXANDER, C.B.: "Tao-ism."

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1. *Frontispiece*: Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress, as "Kaisar-i-Hind."
2. "A FRONTIER POLITICAL OFFICER": "The North-West Frontier."
3. C. L. TUPPER, C.S.I.: "Early Institutions and Punjab Tribal Law."
4. "A BENGAL CIVILIAN": "Elements of Unrest in India."
5. E. H. PARKER: "The Keng-Hung Contention and the Upper Mekong Trade" (with map).
6. A. MICHIE: "Germany in China."
7. TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.: "Western Education in China."
8. H. R. FOX BOURNE: "Black and White 'Rights' in Africa."
9. T. HODGINS, Q.C.: "Canada and the United States—Past and Present Loss by the Treaty of Independence."
10. MCLEOD STEWART: "Canadian Wants and Prospects."
11. THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.: "The Poets of the Tamil Lands."
12. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
13. C. H. TAWNEY, M.A.: "On Sanscrit Ritual Literature."
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15. CAPTAIN G. E. GERINI: "Shán and Siam."
16. PROFESSOR R. P. KARKARIA: "The Religion of Akbar."

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1. SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P.: "Agricultural Banks for India."
2. J. H. TWIGG, B.C.S. (retired): "The Present Monetary Situation and India."
3. J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (retired): "The Teaching of True Indian History."
4. ROMESH C. DUTT, I.C.S., C.I.E.: "The New Sedition Law of India."
5. "A SIKH PATRIOT": "The North-West Frontier."
6. "EX-POLITICAL": "The Amir and the Tribes."
7. "BEHIND THE SCENES": "The Far Eastern Question."
8. A. MICHIE: "China in Commotion."
9. J. MORRIS: "Japan—a Forecast."
10. H. R. FOX BOURNE: "France and England in West Africa."
11. G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.: "Australia in 1898" (Australasia, Tasmania, and New Zealand).
12. THE REV. G. U. POPE, D.D.: "The Poets of the Tamil Lands" (Tiruvalluvar, the Gnostic Poet).
13. M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (retired): "The Holy Writings of the Sikhs."
14. PROFESSOR E. MONTET: "Report on Semitic Studies—Tombs of the Kings of Judah."
15. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "The Grihya Sutras" (Vedic Domestic Ceremonies).
16. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. E. GOWAN: "Mongolia and the Partition of China."
17. E. H. PARKER: "Shán and Siam" (a reply and discussion).

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2. "EVOLUTIONIST" : "Darwinism and Sir Henry Maine, with Special Reference to India."
3. J. H. TWIGG, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Present Crisis in Indian Currency."
4. A. R. COLQUHOUN : "Railway Connection of India with China."
5. A. BARTON, M.D. : "The Yang-Tze Valley and British Commerce."
6. TAW SEIN KO : "New China—Suggested Reforms."
7. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E. : "Judicial Administration of Egypt."
8. MALCOLM SETON : "The Position of Cape Colony in African Affairs."
9. G. R. BADENOCH, I.L.D. : "The Crown Colonies (1898) in Asia."
10. M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Holy Writings of the Sikhs."
11. "ORIENTALIST" : "A Contribution to the Study of the Massorah."
12. J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Assemblies of Al-Hariri."
13. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET : "Report on Semitic Studies."
14. "The Sacred Books of the East"—PROFESSOR H. L. MILLS, D.D. : "The Pahlavi Texts."
15. B. H. BADEN-POWELL : "The Landlord and Political Tenures in Western India," Part I.
16. J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (retired) : "Personal Reminiscences of Sir Sayyad Ahmad."
17. E. H. PARKER : "Burma's Supposed Tribute to China."
18. J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Revenue System of Syria and Egypt." II.
19. MRS. SALWEY : "Japanese Funereal Ceremonies."

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2. ROMESH C. DUTT, I.C.S., C.I.E. : "A Needed Reform in Indian Administration."
3. C. W. WHISH, I.C.S. : "Necessity and Possibility of Reform in the Police Administration of India."
4. J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (retired) : "A Muhammadan University for Northern India."
5. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. I. GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I., C.B. : "Alexander Gardner: Soldier and Traveller."
6. "BEHIND THE SCENES" : "China, England and Russia."
7. HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S. : "Secret Societies in China."
8. R. POPHAM LOBB : "British Influence in the Western Soudan: its History and Results."
9. G. B. BARTON, SYDNEY : "An Australian Commonwealth."
10. H. OTTO THOMAS : "The Future Industrial Prospects of the West Indies."
11. M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Holy Writings of the Sikhs."
12. "H. B." : "The Illad of Ancient India" (Mr. R. C. Dutt's Translation of the Mahā-Bhārata.)
13. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET : "Report on Semitic Studies."
14. "The Sacred Books of the East"—J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired) : "The Saddharma-Pundarika."
15. AGNES E. WAGHORN : "The Pioneer of the Short and Rapid Route to India and the East."
16. THE LATE E. B. LANDIS, M.D. : "A Pioneer of Korean Independence."

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2. G. P. PILLAI, B.A. : "The Press in India: its Origin and Growth."
3. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E. : "From the Pamirs to Peking—Across Asia with Sven Hedin."
4. ARCHIBALD LITTLE : "Partition of China."
5. E. H. PARKER : "Nepaul and China."
6. MALCOLM SEATON, B.A. : "Basutoland."
7. H. R. FOX BOURNE : "A Colonial Empire on Economic and Just Principles."
8. REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D. : "The Poets of the Tamil Lands."
9. W. MARSHAM ADAMS : "The International Catalogue of the Papyri, and its relation to Historic Research."
10. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET : "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
11. PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D. : "God and the Deity in the Sacred Books from the Persian."
12. "The Sacred Books of the East"—J. BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired) : "Pahlavi Texts—Marvels of Zoroastrianism."
13. SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. : "Literature and Science."
- ✓ 14. REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S. : "The Black Stone of Mecca."
15. MAJOR G. E. GERINI : "Shān and Siam."
16. B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. : "The Landlord and Political Tenures of Gujarat and Western India."

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1. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.: "The Indian Civil Service as a Model for Cuba and the Philippines."
2. "R. C.": "The Government of India and its Subjects."
3. SIR CHARLES ROE, BART.: "The Tribes and the Land of the Panjab."
4. C. W. MACRURY, F.R.C.S. ED., D.P.H. CAMB.: "The Necessity for Sanitary and Administrative Reform in India."
5. S. KHUDA BUKHSI: "A Muhammadan University."
6. REV. W. H. HUTTON, B.D.: "An Unpublished Paper of the Marquis Wellesley on the Government of India."
7. LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. C. TEMPLE, C.I.E.: "The Development of Currency in the Far East."
8. "SINICUS": "Chinese Reform and British Interests."
9. H. R. FOX BOURNE: "The Uganda Protectorate and its Relation to the Soudan."
10. PROFESSOR ION PERDICARIS: "The Present Aspect of Affairs in Morocco."
11. R. A. STERNDAL: "St. Helena in ye Olden Times."
12. DR. R. S. CHARNOCK: "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce."
13. A. ROGERS: "The Last Rose of Summer in Persian."
14. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
15. "The Sacred Books of the East"—JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Satapatha Brāhmaṇa." Part IV., Books VIII.—X.
16. H. BEVERIDGE: "Babar's Diamond: was it the Koh-i-Nūr?"
17. JAMSHEDJEE PALLONJEE KAPADIA: "Firdusi an Accurate Historian: the Parthians, Magians, from the time of the Vedas."
18. MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C.: "The Château de Ramezay at Montreal."
19. B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E.: "The Landlord and Political Tenures of Gujarat and Western India."—III.

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1. SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I., LL.D.: "The Recent Famine in India and the Report of the Second Famine Commission" (with tables and map).
2. "GUERILLA": "The North-West Frontier."
3. "A FORMER INDIAN CIVILIAN": "The Covenanted Civil Service of British India."
4. THE HON. JOHN BARRETT: "Siam and its Neighbours."
5. PROFESSOR T. L. BULLOCK: "Intercourse in the Past between China and Foreign Countries."
6. E. H. PARKER: "Khokand and China."
7. ARCHIBALD LITTLE: "The Break-up of China—Lord Charles Beresford."
8. MALCOLM SETON: "Britain in Africa: a Forecast."
9. A. ROGERS: "When in Death I shall Calmly Recline," in Persian.
10. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
11. "The Sacred Books of the East"—PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.: "The Gathas of Zoroaster in Metre and Rhythm, with an English Literal Rendering."
12. B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E.: "The Landlord and Political Tenures of Gujarat and Western India."—IV.
13. REV. J. D. BATE: "Hajis and the Hajj."
14. E. H. PARKER: "Chinese Contributions to the Kaaba Question."
15. A. WERNER: "Mission Hymnology in the Bantu Languages."

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1. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.: "The Presbyterian and Wesleyan User of Government Churches in India."
2. SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "Indian Sugar Duties."
3. L. C. PROBYN: "The Indian Gold Standard."
4. JOHN H. TWIGG: "India and the Monetary Crisis."
5. R. POPHAM LOBB: "The Coming Struggle for Persia" (with map).
6. E. H. PARKER: "The Early Turks—Recent Discoveries"
7. HAROLD BINDLOSS: "A Glance at Nigeria."
8. "AFRICANUS": "The South African Republic."
9. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
10. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Mr. Le Pasteur Fesquet's New Theory on the Origin of Languages."
11. "The Sacred Books of the East"—PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.: "Vol. XXXI. The Zend Avesta."
12. KASSEM AMIN BEY: "The Emancipation of Egyptian Women."
13. CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY: "Japanese Monographs—VI. The Use of the Mirror."

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1. SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN, Q.C.: "The Mogul, Mahratta, and Sikh Empires, in their Zenith and Fall."
2. B. H. BADEN-POWELL: "The proposed Law regarding the Alienation of Agricultural Land in the Panjāb" (with text of Bill).

3. HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD: "Banking in India."
4. A. NUNDY: "The Eurasian Problem in India."
5. H. BINDLOSS: "Exploitations in Uganda."
6. ION PERDICARIS: "Morocco—the Mogador Conflict, December, 1899."
7. R. A. STERNDALE: "St. Helena in the Present Time."
8. JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (retired): "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran."
9. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "The Congress of Orientalists at Rome."
10. PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "Quarterly Report on Semitic Studies and Orientalism."
11. "The Sacred Books of the East"—"Vol. XLIV. The Satapatha-Brāhmana." Translated by JULIUS EGGELING.
12. E. H. PARKER: "The Island of Sumatra."
13. H. BEVERIDGE: "The Garden of Climes" (Hadiqa-al-Aqālim).
14. MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C.: "The Château de Ramezay at Montreal."

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1. SIR LEPHEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.: "Persia."
2. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.: "The Civil Service of India—Past and Present: an Object of Ambition to British Youth."
3. H. DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A.: "The Restoration of a Gold Currency to India."
4. SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.: "A Chief Court for Lower Burma" (with Text of the Chief Clauses of the Bill).
5. E. H. PARKER: "Russia's Sphere of Influence; or, a Thousand Years of Manchuria."
6. "AFRICANUS SECUNDUS": "Difficulties in the South African Settlement."
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THE IMPERIAL  
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APRIL, 1902.

THE PERSIAN GULF.

By H. F. B. LYNCH,

Author of "Armenia."\*

YOUR readers are not ignorant of the fact that two of the great European Powers have for some time past been feeling their way with a view to establishing themselves on the Persian Gulf. In the case of Germany, the scheme for the protraction of her Anatolian railway from Konia in Asia Minor to the Mesopotamian lowlands and *viâ* Baghdad to Koweyt on the Gulf has been for some time before the public. Negotiations have now been reopened at Constantinople after a considerable interval. It is significant that this renewal of German activity should come at a time when we ourselves are engaged in maintaining the ruler of Koweyt against attacks which have been directed upon him by a neighbour, not, it is said, without the connivance of the Turkish Government. Taken by itself in its local environment, this Koweyt affair would be of small consequence. The sovereignty of the Turks on the Gulf littoral has never to my knowledge been effectual; it is upon us that has devolved the task of policing these waters; and it is due to our efforts, extending for a period of over a century, that the ancient scourge of piracy has given place to a state of security which is scarcely surpassed in our home waters. Neither Persia on the eastern shore, nor

\* "Armenia: Travels and Studies"—Vol. i., Russian Provinces; Vol. ii., Turkish Provinces. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1901.



Turkey on the western, have contributed in a material manner to this result. The Persian navy consists of a single obsolete vessel, nor is that of the Turks much more conspicuous in a sea so far removed from the heart of the Ottoman Empire. From time to time it suits Turkish policy to intervene in the local intrigues ; and ever since I have known these countries there have been attempts on the part of the Turks to erect forts at Fao commanding the embouchure of the Shat-el-Arab—the name under which the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris issue into the Gulf. Their action in this matter is contrary to the provisions of their treaty with Persia, and constitutes a grave menace to our mercantile marine. To make a long story short, our diplomacy in Constantinople has for many years been occupied with questions of more or less importance in connection with our peaceful mission in the Gulf. And the interests of the local potentates, whose rule it is necessary to render stable, are watched over by a British official residing at Bushire, and appointed by the Government of India.

A very different aspect is thrown upon these petty politics when considered in conjunction with the renewal by the Germans of negotiations for their railway to the Gulf, and with the feverish activity that is being displayed on the part of the Russians to render themselves supreme over Persia. Speaking with knowledge of the subject, I do not hesitate to say that Persia is rapidly being reduced to the position of a vassal state of Russia. If Germany may be said to pull one or two strings of the Turkish policy, as regards Persia the next year or two will probably decide whether the entire control of her foreign relations will not be exercised from the banks of the Neva. In the case of both these Mussulman states, so long our next door neighbours in India, momentous changes are taking place. We all know that something is going on behind the shutters ; but like simple householders we are misled by long familiarity with the outside, in which nothing or very little has been changed. Some fine day we shall wake up to find the

ancient Oriental lattices vanished from the window frames, and in their place smug plate-glass and polished knockers. We shall then discover that two of the biggest and most clamorous of our neighbours in Europe have come down upon our seclusion in India by different routes for change of air.

Yes, but like most similes, this one is only partial. We of the Central Asian Society have not confined ourselves, whether as travellers or as thinkers, to the purely scientific and academic side of our subjects. Our labours have lain in the countries surrounding or adjacent to India ; and none of us have been able, even had we been willing, to divert and divorce our attention from the momentous political problems which are forced upon us in those lands. The truth is that all these countries have constituted up to the present time a kind of No-man's-land. And in the case of the vast territories bordering upon the Persian Gulf, it is alone due to the long and persistent efforts of our countrymen that they enjoy the blessings of uninterrupted communication with the great markets of Europe, of which the wares have reached them under the protection of the British flag, to be spread into their inmost recesses by land avenues that have been opened up by the pioneer enterprise of British merchants. We have therefore acquired vested interests in the property of our neighbours, as well as the right to demand, and, if necessary, to require that they shall not alienate their estates, in however veiled and tentative a manner, without obtaining our consent. Our case is strengthened by the fact that already on two occasions our arms have been employed in defending these rights.

I have spoken of our trade-routes from the Gulf to the interior ; let me now endeavour to group them under convenient categories. The first includes the various avenues ramifying from ports on the Persian littoral, of which the objective are the cities of Southern Persia—Kerman, Yezd, Shiraz, Isfahan. A separate place may be assigned to the newly-developed Seistan route, which,

starting from Quetta, within British territory, makes its way through Beluchistan to Eastern Persia. A third artery follows the course of the Karun River as far as the towns of Ahwaz and Shushter, the latter situated at the foot of the mountains in which it has its source. A caravan road with steel bridges has been constructed across those mountains by the British company navigating the Karun. Starting from Ahwaz on the Karun, it ends at the city of Isfahan—a distance of 250 miles. The fourth category will comprise the valley of the Tigris, which has been navigated by British steamers as far as Baghdad for a period of nearly half a century. The goods which they convey supply the Mesopotamian markets and find their way into Central Persia. I have said nothing of that great trade route between the Black Sea and Northern Persia which owes its existence to British initiative and persistent energy. It lies somewhat outside the scope of this paper, but it enables the products of Manchester still to compete with Russian merchandise in some of the markets of Northern Persia. The extent of our commercial interests in the Persian Gulf itself may be gauged by the shipping statistics. The last year for which they are published is 1900. Out of a total tonnage, entering and clearing at the principal ports, of 963,000 tons, no less than 766,000 tons, or more than three-quarters of the whole, was British. Neither the Russians nor the Germans are represented at all.

There have appeared quite lately in certain organs of the press in England a number of articles and letters designed to familiarize us with the idea of an occupation by Russia of a port on the Persian Gulf. From familiarity to acceptance the road is not long, if once you can be induced to enter the path. At the same time a Russian vessel of war has put in an appearance, following with her searchlights the movements of our small police-fleet in these waters. We are naïvely told that if we could see our way to make Russia this concession—"this supremely valuable concession" are, I believe, the words—there would no longer

exist a cause of disagreement between us, the Russians having no thoughts of invading India. Would there remain, then, no issues with her in Central Asia, to say nothing of Asiatic Turkey and the Far East? Would the pressure become less felt because more near?

For my own part I refuse to believe in the efficacy of any such concession, whether it be made to Russia or to Germany. I have no doubt both Powers would like to repeat on the Persian Gulf their procedure within quite recent times in the Gulf of Pechili. Kiaou-Chaou and Port Arthur are very useful precedents for the seizures of Koweyt and Bunder Abbas or Chahbar. The main argument of the advocates of this "concession" to Russia is that with her assistance we would succeed in keeping Germany out of the field. Did ever notion more fatuous enter the brain of the political schemer? On what grounds could we refuse a German demand for equal measure? No! We must either resist any infringement of the *status quo* as contrary to our vital interests, or we must be prepared sooner or later to see both Powers established on the confines of our Indian Empire.

I say "established," for is there anyone sufficiently ingenuous to credit the hypothesis that the lease or acquisition by either Power of a port on the Gulf would bring us to the end of the matter? To be of any use in these little governed countries, the possession of a port would entail the control of the territories behind; and the political importance and potential resources of these countries combine with their vast extent and scanty population to render them a prize well worthy of a Great Power, and one which is free from the difficulties besetting similar enterprises in China. Germany in Mesopotamia, and Russia in Southern Persia, would be much more likely to come together and squeeze the Englishman out of Asia than we to secure, at all events for any length of time, the assistance of the one against the other. I am now brought to the very kernel of my subject. The interests of the British Empire are so

world-wide and complex that a British statesman has the right to ask whether he is justified by the stake at issue to commit his country to a policy which, if challenged, will have to be vindicated by force, and from which, once adopted, there must be no going back.

I put aside the magnitude of our commercial interests in these countries, which would be sacrificed were they occupied or controlled by a Protectionist Power. My desire is to consider the eventuality of such an occupation as it would be likely to affect our hold upon India and the security of our communications with the Far East. Am I, are we English, too near our subject to see it clearly, in just perspective, so to speak? I turn to the pages of an American writer, whose surveys of world-movements have been studied in this country, and whose name is known to all with respect. In a book not long ago published, and called "The Problem of Asia," Captain Mahan, of the American Navy, has devoted much of his attention to this question of the Persian Gulf and adjacent countries. He bids us suppose for the sake of discussion that the various territories known as Turkey in Asia, instead of composing, as at present, a flabby body, enfeebled by centuries of misrule, were to be braced together into a highly organized modern state. Stretching from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, this hypothetical state would control the communications between Europe and Asia, and play in the Eastern Mediterranean the part played by France in the Western. Egypt would be at her mercy just as, during the prevalence of analogous conditions, the valley of the Nile became incorporated into the vigorous Ottoman Empire. He proceeds to draw a most instructive comparison between the relative importance in modern world-movements between China on the one hand, and, on the other, Persia and the territories component of Asiatic Turkey. In the case of China it is her wealth, both actual and potential, that attracts the nations to her gates. One is anxious to come down into these favoured regions ; while

others, more remote, have established, or are engaged in establishing, a lucrative commerce and profitable enterprises. A much more important rôle is rightly assigned by Captain Mahan to the countries between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. If their resources, as yet so very little developed, be indeed less than those of China, they are nevertheless sufficiently vast to satisfy the loftiest ambitions. Unlike China, their populations are susceptible of Western culture, and are among the most easily governed in the world. And, while China may be compared to a land upon which the roads converge, forming the goal towards which they tend, these countries—Persia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor—lie on the principal highway to that goal. The American naval writer discusses at some length the alternative of the long circumnavigation by the Cape of Good Hope. He rejects it in a weighty argument with which he mingles a little scorn. He regards the canal of Suez, and the proposed canal across the isthmus of Central America, as the main pivots round which the politics of the Old and the New Worlds are destined to revolve. Directing his vision to the struggle between Great Britain and Russia in Asia, he warns us against the dangers of a Russian advance to the Persian Gulf. On the Gulf, Russia outflanks the Afghanistan position and places herself upon our main line of communications with India and the Far East. Such an advance would, in his opinion, materially improve her prospects both of initiating and of sustaining operations in India. We should have her on the flank of our great dependency, controlling the issue of any railway from the Mediterranean through Mesopotamia, and barring the way to its prolongation towards India. It is a consummation which would carry with it—I quote his actual words—"a perpetual menace in war." It would entail on our part the maintenance in Indian waters of a large and costly fleet. To lock her up in the Gulf would involve an exhausting effort to Great Britain and her natural allies. I would add myself that the presence of Russia on the Persian Gulf would go

far towards counterbalancing our occupation of Egypt. "There is no motive," he goes on to say, "in the good of Russia for the other states to consent to an arrangement which carries with it hazard to them." To this statement it may be useful to append the vigorous sentence in which Lord Curzon has summed up the conclusions he arrived at after study on the spot: "I should regard the concession of a port upon the Persian Gulf to Russia by any power as a deliberate insult to Great Britain, as a wanton rupture of the *status quo*, and as an intentional provocation to war; and I should impeach the British Minister who was guilty of acquiescing in such a surrender as a traitor to his country."\*

This is all very forcible and clear; but your readers may ask me for a constructive policy. What are my conclusions, as a traveller in most of these countries west of India, as to the part which we should play? Not, certainly, the part of the dog in the manger. We do not desire, we have shrunk from acquiring, even during our war with Persia, when we were in possession, territory on the Persian Gulf. Moreover our commercial policy, for which our persistent practice in all parts of the world is a sufficient guarantee, is a policy of the door open to all comers. What we should endeavour to prevent with all the means at our disposal is the establishment on the Gulf of any European Power. And, as regards the vast land areas which give access to these waters, our policy should be frankly one of spheres of influence†—the only policy which is any longer possible in Persia, and which seems to be dictated by the counsels of ordinary prudence in the case of Asiatic Turkey.

It is fortunate for us—though it is a fact which would appear to be all but unknown to our statesmen—that Nature has herself determined these spheres. In relation to Russia, the natural division between her sphere and ours is formed in Persia by that broad zone of saline and scarcely passable

\* "Persia and the Persian Question." London, 1892. Vol. ii., p. 465.

† These words have been misunderstood in one or two quarters. They are not intended to convey the meaning that we should abandon our traditional policy of maintaining the integrity and independence of Persia.

desert which extends on the tableland from the confines of Afghanistan all the way to the neighbourhood of the capital of Persia, Tehran. North of this zone lie the mountains and fertile Persian province of Khorasan with the great Persian cities, Meshed, Nishapur. The trade of Russia is already supreme in this region, to which she has secured ready access by means of her Transcaspian Railway. South of the desert is situated a companion fertile country, comprising the mountains which buttress up the tableland on the side of the Persian Gulf and the Mesopotamian lowlands. This country must continue to be threaded by our commercial arteries, of which the objective are the Persian cities of Kerman and Yezd, of Shiraz, Isfahan and Kum. Our old-established hold upon all these markets must be quickly tightened by improved communications. All attempts on the part of Russia to wrest our predominance in these regions by means of political pressure at the capital must be strenuously resisted. And any "understanding" with her in relation to Persia should be based on a frank recognition of these spheres.

The case of Central Persia and of Asiatic Turkey may be dealt with on similar natural principles. The belt of mountains buttressing the tableland of Persia bends round at the head of the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, performing the same function for the highlands of Armenia, and, further west, for those of Asia Minor. The ridges sink into the waters of the Mediterranean at the head of Syria, adjoining Cyprus. The lowlands which they confine at their southern extremities should be preserved at all hazards from a foreign occupation, intimately connected as they are with the Persian Gulf. They are threaded from end to end by two magnificent navigable rivers, Euphrates and Tigris. They already form a lucrative field for our trade, which is practically supreme. We must be on our guard against assisting the Germans in constructing a railway across this, our sphere, by consenting to any increase of the tax upon our imports, in order to find the funds for a kilometric guarantee. As



it is our trade that in the main will pay the bill, we should first secure that the projected railway shall be of real use to our communications. This would not necessarily conflict with Turkish requirements. We ought also to obtain a predominant voice in the management of the Mesopotamian section.

Whether the ends which we should have in view can best be obtained by the declaration of a Protectorate over certain portions of the littoral of the Persian Gulf, is a question which must be left for decision on its merits according to circumstances. But I am certain that the general lines of the policy I have ventured to commend to your readers' attention do not involve any obstruction to the legitimate aspirations of either of the new-comers, Germany and Russia. Germany in Asia Minor—by which I mean, of course, the highlands—and Russia in Northern Persia and Armenia have enough to accomplish to provide them with useful occupation for at least a century. No German colonist could bring up his family in Mesopotamia or Southern Persia, and the case is the same for the Russians. This clamour on the part of Russia for outlets for her population in Western Asia is nothing but a herring drawn across the scent. On the other hand, I am equally confident that this policy is vital for England, and that it must be taken in hand before it be too late. If we pursue it, we not only safeguard our communications with India and the Far East, but we maintain and increase our intercourse with markets which will grow in importance as those of China commence to feel the pressure of American competition, assisted, as it will be, by the completion of the canal across the Central American isthmus. But if in fancied security and with lordly generosity we lend our ear to insidious phrases about "understandings" and "concessions"; if we surrender, one by one, our dearly acquired markets and the outposts of our Indian Empire—sooner or later the majestic fabric which we have raised in Asia will fall in pieces to the ground.

## IS STATE-AIDED EDUCATION IN ANY SHAPE SUITABLE TO THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF INDIA ?\*

BY SIR ROLAND K. WILSON, BART.

I HAVE been for some twenty years a member of the East India Association, have attended a fair proportion of its meetings, and have read reports, or noted the subjects, of a great many more ; but I have no recollection of any single paper advocating retrenchment in any shape or form. I really think it is about time that a precedent should be created. For surely the fact that ought now to dominate all our thinking, whatever may be the subject immediately under discussion, is

### THE POVERTY OF INDIA.

In order that time may not be wasted in controversy as to the precise extent of that poverty, I shall adopt provisionally the most optimistic estimate. For the purpose of the present discussion, and for this purpose only, I shall assume that Lord Curzon is right and Mr. Digby wrong, and shall take £2 rather than 22s. 4d. as the average annual income per head of the entire population of British India. £2 per annum is 1½d. a day, and is hardly more than the weekly wage of a skilled London mechanic. This figure, officially conceded, is quite sufficient to silence for the present all boasting about the blessings of British rule. It is not in human nature to keep on blessing an earthly Providence which cannot save its votaries from going through life half-fed and less than half-clothed. The only question that it leaves open is, whether the Government has been, in regard to this matter, simply powerless for good, or an active instrument of mischief. And this brings me to the next topic bearing upon my argument, namely,

### THE AMOUNT AND INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

I will assume for the purpose of the present argument, and for this purpose only, that the chief cause of the general

\* See the "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this *Review*, for the discussion on this paper.

poverty is the character of the people, their ignorance and superstition, their deep divisions of caste and creed, their apathy and lack of enterprise. I not only concede, but would strongly insist, with Pope, on the relative smallness, among all the ills that men endure, of the part that Governments can—cure. “Cause or cure” are the poet’s words; but it is hard to fix any limit to the evil that may be caused, not only by a malignant, but by a benevolently fussy and meddlesome Government. However that may be, no such general considerations will avail to exempt a Government from its own specific share of responsibility for acts of its own tending to aggravate the suffering of its subjects; and under this head must surely be reckoned the impoverishment of the largest, poorest, and most laborious class of taxpayers by means of the land assessment and the salt duty. Whatever else tends to produce poverty, most certainly the direct abstraction of wealth must do so, and more particularly when the money abstracted represents hard manual labour, and is a portion of what is needed for bare subsistence.

I was amazed to read lately in a special article of the *Times*, that undue leniency of assessment discourages industry. I should have thought it hardly disputable that the strength of the inducement to exertion must be diminished by every prospective defalcation from the fruits of labour. It may be otherwise where a little labour will suffice to satisfy all the felt wants of a savage; but I never yet heard of the Indian raiyat to whom that description would apply.

The assurance of the Famine Commissioners that the assessments are low or moderate everywhere except in Bombay, would be more convincing if it were not confessedly based on the selling value of the gross produce, without any reference to the cost of production. For all that appears to the contrary, this might be so great as to leave no room for any Government demand, however moderate. For the same reason one of the chief points in Lord Curzon’s reply to Mr. Dutt seems irrelevant to the real issue. My argument, however, does not require me to go beyond his lordship’s

own concluding pronouncement, impressing upon the revenue authorities that they must be more careful to avoid over-assessment in future. The land assessment is, of course, not the only shape in which the pressure of taxation makes itself felt. In one way or another, "the cheapest civilized Government in the world" takes from its subjects according to the lowest estimate—*i.e.*, not according to Mr. Digby, but according to the Viceroy—a slightly larger proportion of income than is taken from the far wealthier population of the United Kingdom.\* The poorer the community, the more painfully will the subtraction of a tenth of its income be felt. Yet it may well be that the security which only a regular Government can afford must in the nature of things cost more proportionately to a poor country than to a rich one, just as a working man has to pay away a larger proportion of his income in house-rent than a millionaire. If so, there is all the more reason why such a Government should confine itself to its absolutely necessary functions, and should eschew all fancy expenditure.

But this is not all. A heavy burden evenly distributed can be borne more easily than a lighter one ill-adjusted. In India, as is not only admitted, but strongly insisted by so thorough-going an official apologist as Sir John Strachey, the richer classes pay much less, from which it follows that the poorer pay much more, than their proper share. The only province, for instance, which enjoys the privilege of a permanent settlement is one of those in which the settlement was made with the landlords, and not with the cultivators. Here again it may be that as an alien Government we simply cannot afford to quarrel with the well-to-do classes who now get off too easily, for the sake of the overtaxed masses who are too ignorant and apathetic to give us effective support. Or it may be, on the other hand, that we are unconsciously biassed by the fact that the financial system

\* Approximately ten as against  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., taking £2 and £35 respectively as the average incomes per head, and comparing the combined receipts from taxes and local rates for 1899, 1900.

which favours the well-to-do native favours *a fortiori* the still richer and more influential Anglo-Indian. On either view we have to take account of the fact that the pressure of taxation is more severely felt, owing to its inequitable adjustment, than would appear from the bare statement of its ratio to average income ; consequently the need for retrenchment is so much the more urgent.

My next point is that the

#### NEED FOR INCREASED EXPENDITURE

in certain directions is also urgent, thus further strengthening the case for abolition of superfluous departments. The "cheapest of civilized Governments" is not only not cheap, if by "cheap" is meant "unburdensome to the subject," but is also very imperfectly civilized, if by that adjective is implied that civil rights are efficiently protected and justice accessible to all who need it. We have learnt lately, on the high authority of Mr. Thorburn, that in the Punjab "the Sarkar has failed in the first duties of a Government;" that more agrarian outrages are committed in one year in certain districts of that province than in Ireland during the worst period of Land League domination; and that the civil judges are so overburdened with work that they can think of nothing but clearing their files without attempting to get at the real merits of disputes between raiyat and money-lender. Not in the Punjab only, but all over India, we should have heard less about the necessity for reactionary legislation against freedom of contract, had the simple remedy been first tried of providing a sufficiency of gratuitous, accessible, and trustworthy Small Cause Courts, so as to enable the poor and ignorant to litigate on equal terms with the rich and astute. But if this is a counsel of perfection, incompatible with the present financial straits, at least the urgency of police reform, which cannot be accomplished without money, is notorious and officially admitted.\*

Then there is the work of codification at a standstill, a

\* The official statistics show an increase of crime during the past decade, concurrently with increased expenditure on education.

matter to which I myself once invited the attention of the public. I showed, or tried to show, how a vast amount of domestic quarrelling and ruinous litigation might be prevented if the Legislature would only do its duty by overhauling the native family laws, and also the general family law of India, instituting systematic inquiries as to the wishes of the classes interested, and legislating accordingly.\* Meanwhile, instead of money being found to strengthen the Legislative Department, the valuable time of the Legal Member of Council is being taken up with a roving Education Commission.

All these matters lie well within the first, most indisputable, and most indispensable province of Government. In the second rank of urgency, according to my estimate, in the first perhaps according to some, comes military expenditure. I place it second, because a country is not worth defending externally unless the internal conditions are tolerable; while, conversely, if the internal conditions were perfect, a prosperous and united community of 300 millions would have no need to give a thought to external defence. First or second, I submit (for reasons to be stated presently) that both must be adequately provided for before the claims of State education can be considered. When, however, we come to the question, How much ought India to pay for frontier defence? we find a divergence of views, ranging from a large increase to a very substantial decrease of the present expenditure. I am not now asking you to take sides either with Lord Curzon or with the Indian National Congress in this matter. If Lord Curzon is right, the case is so much the stronger for retrenchment in other directions; and whether right or not, his word is law for the present, and he has told us that we must look for no reduction under this head during his Viceroyalty. On the other hand the persistent demand of the Congress party for reduction of the British garrison to the very lowest point consistent with safety would be more impressive if made

\* See the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1898.

simply in the interest of the taxpayer than if coupled (as it too often is) with suggestions that the money saved should go to swell the education budget. This brings me at last to the main question,

OUGHT INDIA TO HAVE AN EDUCATION BUDGET AT ALL?

Does she require it? Can she afford it?

Of course, if she requires it in the same sense in which she requires courts of justice and laws, and a police force and an army, she must afford it, and on such a scale as to be effective, though millions should have to starve in consequence. But does she require it in any such sense? Please remember that "*it*" is not education *per se*, but State aid to education. The question is not whether education is a good thing in itself, nor whether voluntary efforts for its diffusion are meritorious, but whether it is absolutely necessary to take from individuals without their consent, for the support of the particular kind of education favoured by Government, the money which they might prefer to keep and spend in some other way. The distinction is fundamental, though constantly overlooked.

The protective function of the State must in the nature of things be a monopoly. That is to say, unless there is, throughout any given area, one association, *and only one*, prepared to apply physical force to all disputants who will not listen to reason, there can be no security for honest folk. We all know what would happen if the police, judges, and soldiers throughout India were suddenly to strike work. In the words of Manu, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit. We know what actually did happen wherever the British power was temporarily in abeyance during the great Mutiny, and what was always happening somewhere during the century of partial anarchy between the collapse of the Mogul Empire and the consolidation of the British Rāj. We know that detached efforts of knights-errant, *vehm-gerichts*, lynching societies, etc., to supply the place of the vanished Govern-

ment, must from the nature of the case fail to afford security until some one of them succeeds in swallowing up the others, and so re-establishing the one indivisible State. And note that the same result would follow as certainly, though less immediately, from a stoppage in any one of the three departments mentioned. If the police were to strike work, the decrees of the courts would be waste paper. If the courts ceased to sit, the police would not know whom to protect and whom to arrest. If the army were to disband itself, it would not be very long before both police and judges found their commissions superseded by those of some foreign conqueror or native usurper. I need not waste time by showing how the same chain of necessary interdependence embraces also the legislative, diplomatic and financial departments of Government. And I should hardly have thought it worth while to demonstrate that it cannot be made to embrace the Education Department, were it not that the Education Commissioners of 1883 notice, without either endorsing or repudiating, the contention that the claims of this department stand exactly on the same level as those of the others.

Suppose, then, a sudden suspension of all provincial and municipal disbursements for education, the other administrative departments continuing to draw their usual remittances. Would the whole machine be paralyzed? Surely not. Everything would go on as before, except that school-managers would be compelled either to reduce their establishments, or to raise their fees, or to increase their subscription lists; and would on the other hand be free to modify their arrangements to suit the wishes of subscribers and customers without waiting for the approval of the Government Inspector. Whether this would be a change for better or for worse I will consider presently; for the moment I am only concerned to insist that, at all events, the consequences would not be so appalling as to silence all pleadings for economy.

Look at the same matter from the taxpayer's point of



view. In so far as he knows that the money is required for the protective work of Government, the usual compulsory processes, though doubtless convenient, are not really necessary; a threat to exclude him from the corresponding benefit—in other words, to outlaw him—would be quite as effective, at all events in the case of anyone who had more to gain by justice than by injustice. The commodity for which he is asked to pay is one which he can by no possibility obtain by his own exertions or from any other shop. But if an education rate were demanded separately (I do not know whether this ever actually happens in India), he would not be in the least frightened by the threat to exclude his children from the Board school in case of refusal, even if he happened to have any of school-going age. He would coolly compare the bargain offered by the State with the terms obtainable elsewhere, or with the advantage of keeping the children at home, and decide accordingly.

In short, the State has a natural monopoly of protection and justice. It has no such natural monopoly of education. Its right to create an artificial monopoly would be extremely hard to prove, and is, happily, not yet asserted in India. Its comparatively modest claim at present is not to supplant, but to supplement private enterprise. To this claim, standing as it does on a wholly different level from that of the departments to which private enterprise is inapplicable, the objection is, I submit, a legitimate one that the present financial situation does not justify expenditure on superfluities.

It may be argued that the present State expenditure on education is too small to be felt as an extra burden, or to be worth contending about. A million and a quarter sterling may be regarded as a mere flea-bite; but it is in reality more like the first bite of a leech, which, if left to itself, will go on sucking till it is gorged to repletion, or till the life-blood of the victim is exhausted. Widely as educational experts differ as to the way in which the money

should be spent, there is absolute agreement as to the necessity for spending much more than at present if any real good is to be done, and nowhere have I seen suggested any figure, however large, on attaining which they will cease to ask for more. There was, indeed, some appearance of finality in the original aim of the founders of State education in India. It was to impart to the limited class of natives who would have been employed in administrative work under a native Government so much of Western learning as they could be induced to receive, in order to fit them for co-operating with Europeans in the same kind of work. It might reasonably be expected that when once the money value of the new knowledge came to be understood, it would be spontaneously sought and paid for, so that the institutions for higher education would in time become self-supporting; and it was hoped that then the wisdom of the few would in some natural way filter down among the masses. But the case was entirely altered when the Despatch of 1854 proclaimed "the importance of placing the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within the reach of the great mass of the people."

As a matter of fact, no public money has been saved even on higher education since that date, in spite of a largely increased income from fees and voluntary contributions, and in spite of a gradual change from the method of direct management to that of "grants-in-aid." But if there had been any saving under this head, it would have been sunk, with all other surplus revenue, in the bottomless morass of what we are pleased to call education of the masses. The Commissioners of 1883 actually speak of "protecting the *right* of the masses to receive primary education, not only against the encroachments of expenditure upon public works and other demands which local boards have to meet, but also against those demands which fall upon provincial revenues." If it is the "right" of every child of school-going age to receive a benefit, which only one in twelve is at present actually receiving, the prospect

is remote indeed of relief to the taxpayer from any conceivable curtailments of home charges, however pacific may be our foreign policy, however restricted our employment of Europeans. Every pice that can be saved in other departments must go for many a long year to come in discharge of this alleged outstanding debt to eleven out of every twelve children—say fifty-four or fifty-five millions. Does the debt also include the feeding and clothing of those who would otherwise not be in a fit state to receive instruction? As these will presumably be found among the eleven-twelfths who have not yet been reached, the question is not so immediately pressing as that of the

#### QUALITY OF THE INSTRUCTION

imparted to the favoured one-twelfth.

For it is unfortunately not a simple case of the proverbial half-loaf, it being well known that bad teaching is worse for a child than none at all. It gives him a lot to unlearn, and intensifies his natural aversion to study of any kind. But in the administration of public funds there is the further danger of arousing discontent by unfair distribution of a benefit, even if the benefit is real to the actual recipients. Thus a poor Government, setting itself to diffuse education among a vast and poor population, is between Scylla and Charybdis. If it spends its small income in maintaining a few good schools at important centres, those who live near those centres must be unduly favoured at the expense of other taxpayers. If, on the other hand, it aims at planting a school of some sort within reach of every child, it is certain that, long before that result is achieved, the quality of the instruction will have fallen (so to speak) below zero. The course actually pursued, of departmental grants-in-aid, combined with a system of partly permissive local rating, presents on paper the appearance of judicious compromise, but in practice steers dangerously near the Charybdis of general inefficiency. The tests by which the grants are apportioned are different in different

provinces, but all confessedly unsatisfactory, while their application involves the diversion of a large amount of energy from education to inspection and the compiling of statistics. Whether I go for information to the great Report of 1883, or to the Quinquennial Review of 1898, or to the *Times* special article of the last day of last year, I am reminded of the remark made by a Bengal civilian ten years ago, concerning Indian administration generally, but with special reference to its educational side: "The Government of India, being both poor and ambitious, is bent on making a show at as little cost as possible."\*

This is how Mr. Carstairs, from whom I am quoting, speaks of the system of school inspection—that is, of inspectors who receive reports from deputy-inspectors, who in turn supervise a still lower grade of men by whom alone the schools are actually visited:

"The work is degraded because unfit workmen cannot but turn out bad work; the few good labourers are degraded because they have to spend their time, labour and brains in the vain effort to make bad workmen do good work, instead of doing good work of their own; the employer, by employing unfit men and accepting their bad work, loses reputation; and the cause itself is identified with the bad work, not with the good design." [My contention is that a design cannot be good which takes no account of conditions rendering good work impossible.] "When a boy has been sent back from school with the stamp of a successful examination on him, the Education Department has done with him, and takes no further interest. But the interest of his friends begins here. When they see him come back with a smattering of reading and writing, soon to

\* *British Work in India*, by R. Carstairs (1891), p. 62. In the next sentence the word "alone," to which Sir Charles Stevens took exception at the meeting, goes a little beyond what the author says in the passage here summarized. His words are (p. 66): "Inspectors and their deputies being chiefly occupied with the conduct of their own subordinates, with accounts and returns, with reports and correspondence, the main part of the actual work is done by the subinspectors and pundits, and is of a correspondingly low class."

be forgotten, without reverence for God, parents, or society, with little wisdom and no morality, discontented with his lot and with no improvement in prospects, they come to the conclusion that this thing called education, which the authorities are always praising and urging on them, is not wholesome or beneficial, and they have no appetite for it."

The *Times* writer is no less emphatic in his warning against "the temptation to slur over considerations of quality in order to secure at any cost results that can be numerically exhibited." It will not do, therefore, for the Government to disclaim any intention of forcing the pace to the ruin of the taxpayer, and to plead that they only contemplate increasing the educational expenditure proportionally to the expected increase in general wealth and tax-bearing capacity. They must force the pace if they are not to do more harm than good. As matters now stand, we are taking from the people, over and above really necessary taxation, an annual sum much larger than they can conveniently part with, yet altogether insufficient for the alleged purpose. We are pinching in order to buy a pop-gun for game that can only be brought down with a rifle. In order to decide whether it is wiser to go forward or to go back, we ought to have before us an estimate of the cost of providing for 50,000,000 (or, excluding girls, 25,000,000) children something in the shape of primary education which shall at least be sound and useful so far as it goes, however limited may be its scope. But I much doubt the new Education Commission having the courage to present such an estimate.

I must now pass from the economic aspect of the problem to a matter of even graver moment—I mean the irrepressible

#### RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY

which has already engaged our attention on former occasions. Those discussions brought to light a considerable variety of opinion, but (to my mind at all events) no tolerable solution.

Dr. Duncan was completely successful as against both Mr. Maconachie and the bishops, in showing that the reasons for strict neutrality on the part of the Government are as strong now as they ever were.\* I fail to see that he (or anyone else) has succeeded in rebutting the presumption that a body which is debarred from meddling with religion must be unfit to control education. The distinction thus forced into prominence between secular and religious subjects is very modern, highly artificial, and probably ephemeral even in the West; it is still more difficult to imagine its taking root in the East. An uneasy consciousness of this incongruity has been undoubtedly one of the motives for the gradual extension of the grant-in-aid system in substitution for institutions directly managed by Government. Dr. Duncan laid stress on the point, as proving that the alleged moral failure of the system as a whole cannot be due to exclusion of religious teaching, that in 85 per cent. of the schools, comprising more than two-thirds of the pupils, the religious teacher has a free hand. *But has he?* Let Dr. Duncan himself answer the question. He says :

“Of the extent to which teachers in non-Government schools take advantage of their freedom it is impossible to speak otherwise than in general terms. On all except private schools the pressure of the secular subjects is felt to be heavy.”

He goes on to remark that in missionary and non-mission schools alike all earnest-minded teachers “feel the difficulty, but at the same time the necessity, of striving against the engrossing pursuit of those immediate and tangible results that aid directly in the struggle for existence.” My complaint is that this natural and universal difficulty is aggravated, instead of being relieved, by the conditions of State aid. To the same effect is the testimony of an earnest-minded Hindu in the Calcutta weekly called *New India* :

“It is the cultivation of memory alone that is the aim of

\* See this *Review* for January last, pp. 1-20.

the Indian educational system. . . . And the result has been that our teaching manufactories have been turning out graduates who are generally more or less ignorant of all true culture."

The grant-in-aid system is no more a solution of the difficulty in India than it is in England. The money grant is more eloquent than the finest Viceregal oration, and it declares unmistakably to all concerned that the studies inspected and paid for are, in the opinion of the State, the essentials of good education, and that the studies ignored are unimportant extras. For this reason I maintain that if there is any Government in the world fit to control so sacred and personal a business as education, it is certainly not one pledged to religious neutrality. Still more unfit, of course, would be a Government identified with the religion of an insignificant minority of its subjects; which, however, I do not understand to be the present position of the Government of India, notwithstanding a sentence in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which might be so interpreted.

#### MORAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES.

Until recently the Government concerned itself almost as little about moral as about religious training, and it is quite an open question whether it has strengthened or still further weakened its position by abandoning that attitude, and (among other things) bestowing its *imprimatur* on untheological moral text-books, compiled expressly for school use. I do not gather that these text-books have been received with much enthusiasm, but cannot speak of them from personal knowledge. There is, however, one officially recognised text-book, dealing with that special branch or offshoot of ethics commonly known as politics, which I have read, and about which I have something to say. I refer to Sir William Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India."

I observe that it has been recommended for school use in all parts of British India, and is even supplemented by an "Authorized Guide" for examination purposes.

Concurring in the general appreciation of the versatility of Sir William's genius, and of the excellence of his intentions, I must yet pronounce the official adoption of his book by the Indian educational authorities a grave political indiscretion. I am not quite sure that the permanent mischief would have been greater, though, of course, there would have been more outcry at the moment, if Bishop Welldon's aspiration for the close of the present century had been realized at its commencement, and the Bible had been ordered to be read in all Government schools. For it amounts, in effect, to imposing a political test on all managers and teachers of State-aided institutions. The little book bristles with dogmatic assertions about matters that are keenly debated, all tending to the glorification of the British Government as it was and is. The title is a misnomer, suggesting, as it does, the possession of those political rights which are, as we all know, withheld for the present from the people of India. It is brightly written, and might pass well enough as a private venture; as a text-book officially prescribed it cannot fail to be a source of irritation and embarrassment to well-informed and conscientious teachers. The *Times* writer already quoted tells us that the profession of teaching as a career is a byword among educated natives; it is not likely to gain in dignity when the teacher is required not only to restrain the expression of his political views, but to be *ex officio* an apologist of things as they are.

And yet it is difficult to see how trouble of this sort is to be avoided if we once grant the assumptions that it is the duty of the State to undertake the moral education of the people, and that politics are a branch of morals. Sir Henry Maine, himself a very eminent Indian official, once remarked that the official mind does not love criticism; which is, after all, not saying much more than that officials are human. If the Government of the day is entrusted with the task of moulding young minds, what else can we expect but that they will be moulded according



to the Government pattern? unless, indeed, they are driven by a natural reaction into Nihilism.

The answer to all these objections will, no doubt be that it is worth while to encounter every sort of difficulty, economic, religious, or political, rather than that the people should remain uneducated. The small residue of my time must, therefore, be devoted to satisfying you, if I can, that there is no such dilemma.

#### WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF STATE AID WERE WITHDRAWN?

In their dread of losing the very meagre State aid that they now receive, Indian educationists are like the man in the story who clung agonized to a rope till he died of fright, thinking that he was hanging over a precipice, when his feet were actually almost touching the ground. I have pointed out already what would happen if the rope were to be cut—in other words, if all educational grants were suddenly to cease. School managers of all kinds would have to look about for voluntary support, and would have to put up the shutters if they failed to obtain it. That a good many existing institutions would have to do this I have no doubt; but I also very much doubt its being a matter for regret.

Complaints are rife in France just now that the country is suffering from a superfluity of doctors without patients, lawyers without clients, and disappointed candidates for Government employment, and there is a good deal of evidence that in India also the supply of the sort of educated youth turned out by Government schools and colleges is considerably in excess of the demand. As regards primary education, there is not much substance in the argument that the *raiyat* must be taught to read and write and calculate in order to save him from being cheated by the *banya*. Not long ago a highly-educated Indian lady, wife of a learned professor, told me that a village belonging to her husband was left entirely to the management of his aunt, a Hindu widow of the old school,

who could neither read nor write, but who managed it perfectly, and that when this lady came to visit her she found herself quite taken out of her depth among the technicalities of revenue law with which her illiterate relative seemed perfectly familiar. Moreover, English experience goes to show that the "three R.'s" cannot be effectively taught except as a part of a good all-round training, which the present schools are quite unable to supply. On the whole, considering the many other urgent demands on the average income of 1½d. a day, I can well believe that general social progress might benefit in the long-run by some temporary contraction of scholastic expenditure. But, considering how deeply respect for learning is rooted in the traditions of both Hindus and Muhammadans, I see no reason to apprehend that the voluntary support of education would fall below a standard fairly corresponding to the actual resources of the population; and I see a good deal of reason for supposing that the kinds of education supported would be more closely adapted than at present to actual needs.

Of the institutions that survived the loss of State aid, some would do so by working on strictly commercial lines, supplying only those kinds of instruction in which teaching could be had cheap, or for which parents would be able and willing to pay high fees. And in this connection I may observe that a powerful stimulus would be applied to private educational enterprise were the Government at last to consent to the holding of examinations in India for the higher Civil Service. Other schools and colleges would appeal for public support on non-commercial lines.

The great missionary societies, for instance, no longer lured aside from their professed aim by the bait of Government grants, would cease to fill their schools with non-Christian children under non-Christian teachers in the strange fashion described to us the other day by Dr. Duncan and the speakers who followed him; would concentrate their attention on the conversion of parents, and

on making model Christians of the children entrusted to their care as Christians, and would be able to ground their appeals to their wealthy co-religionists at home on a more intelligible basis. If, on the other hand, the plan of purely secular education, now pursued of necessity in Government schools, should happen to commend itself in principle to any considerable number of persons, they would combine to take over from the State the financial responsibility for these institutions. Similarly, those who desire with Mr. Maconachie to connect all teaching with a profession of theistic belief would be free to enlist what support they could in favour of institutions on that basis. Personally, I should expect and welcome a great increase of activity on the part of the Brahmo Somaj and kindred bodies, which aim at disengaging the purer from the baser elements of Hinduism ; and if the orthodox Hindus and Muhammadans were to be goaded thereby into educational rivalry, so much the better. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, under the management of the Arya Somaj, shows what may be done in this way. All that is really alive in native society would show quite another sort of energy when relieved from the enervating influence of official patronage and control, and at the same time from the fiscal oppression which is the obverse of the same phenomenon ; while the Government, no longer hampered by inconsistent pledges, and discredited by poor performance after large promises, would be vastly stronger for its proper work. It might then educate by example more effectively than now by precept.

All this, however, is purely hypothetical ; what might have been, what possibly might be even now, if home public opinion were other than it is. Though I spoke at the commencement of "advocating" retrenchment, my task has really been one of diagnosis rather than of prescription. I do not need to be told that the physician who in these days should prescribe a plain diet of voluntaryism for India or any other over-governed community would have as little chance of being met in consultation by any self-respecting

member of the faculty as if he had given out Elisha's prescription for leprosy, or had been a divine advocating toleration in the sixteenth century. The patient will no doubt continue to be prescribed for *secundum artem*; but whether he dies or recovers, the spirit of inquiry may perhaps be stimulated by putting on record a non-professional explanation of his symptoms.

## LORD CANNING AND LORD MILNER.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

“BLESSED are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely.” These divine words must have often comforted the mind of Canning in the strain of the Indian Mutiny. “No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may,” he wrote, “will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty.” If, says the late Duke of Argyll, he had yielded to the outcries of anger and fear which rose around him, the Mutiny must have become that which it never was—a war between race and race with wounds that could never be healed. “The complaints and accusations made against him at the time are an immortal monument of his fame.” The quality of mercy which he displayed in his exalted station is conspicuous also among the great captains of that period—men like Lord Clyde, Sir James Outram and some civilians more obscure, whom it will be my privilege to name. I have many reasons for proposing a study of Canning’s policy as an alternative to that which has been adopted for South Africa.

Few will deny that the war waged so long against the two little Boer Republics will remain fixed in the nation’s memory. The Jameson Raid, set to music by the Poet Laureate, the treachery of Lord Rosmead’s official advisers, the Hawkesley telegrams, the interference even of Miss Flora Shaw, were, among the strange and exciting episodes which roused the people long before we heard the boom of the guns. Whole classes held a stake in the vast pecuniary prize, the gold mines already returning £20,000,000 a year in dividends, swelling the fortunes of the South African millionaires. No wonder, then, that the baffling negotiations and all the terrible events of war have been watched with a keenness, growing to the white heat of passion, when

it was found that the old loyal Cape Colony had turned against us, and was put under martial law! This war and all its incidents have become household words throughout the United Kingdom; and as it has lasted longer, the feeling is, I think, intenser than what was generated by the Indian Mutiny, the latest great struggle of our Empire. It is likely, therefore, that the policy, the methods, and the tactics used in Africa, being so notorious, will be appealed to as precedents in years to come, whenever we are at arm's length with a colony or encounter disturbances in India. There is some danger that our Indian traditions may be forgotten or slighted. The Mutiny of 1857 is even now growing dim to British eyes; we remember the massacres and the sieges, but the policy which overcame the Sepoy army and prevented their revolt changing into a general rebellion is passing out of mind—at any rate, that policy, abundantly successful though it was, has received barely a passing mention in the organs of public opinion, since this disappointing war began above two years ago. Such indifference to a great lesson in history startles and surprises me for more reasons than one. The policy applied in India, then, as now, chiefly associated with Lord Canning, was fiercely debated there and at home. It soon led to a petition from the Calcutta Europeans for his recall; it afterwards brought about the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, and nearly destroyed the Cabinet of which he was a member. Its immediate result was the speedy re-establishment of our power in India, followed by a general peace, carefully based on the goodwill of the natives, which has endured to this day. Less happy than Lord Milner, Canning had to bear the malice and censure of the European settlers. Condemned by them for his mental calm and merciful control, he was publicly rebuked by Ellenborough for cruel treatment of the conquered rebels of Oudh. But *finis coronat opus*: he stayed to see the war over, grasping not at premature rewards; and when, worn out, he came home to die, he was crowned with an enduring

fame. The much-abused Viceroy may be pictured in the words of Bunyan : "They saw a man clothed all in white ; and two men, Prejudice and Illwill, continually casting dirt upon him. Now, behold, the dirt whatsoever they cast at him, would in a little time fall off again, and his garment would look as clear as if no dirt had been cast thereat."

The man and his methods stand out in bold contrast to Lord Milner from first to last as I intend to show ; and it detracts nothing from the greatness of Canning to remark that his views were supported and often anticipated by the splendid body of Civil Servants on whom he had to depend. These were men of a different stamp to the magnates of Rhodesia and Johannesburg. Forbidden by law to trade or speculate, they were single-minded in character, straightforward in conduct. Holding high positions, in their prime of life, they kept their heads and temper ; and, being fearless, they had no desire to be cruel, as Mr. Keane proves in that book of his called "Fifty-Seven," so full of examples to our younger Civil Servants. Let those who have sneered at the hunted Boers remember that many of these Anglo-Indians had an abiding faith in God, which they took no pains to hide. That excellent officer, Mr. Henry Carre Tucker, the Commissioner of Benares, wrote in reply to the Governor-General that the stand-by of his little band in those dreadful times was 2 Samuel xxii., a fine use of holy texts like these : "The Lord is my rock and my fortress and my deliverer," "The sorrows of hell compassed me about : the snares of death prevented me. In my distress I called upon the Lord and cried unto my God." Nor was his trust in vain. Cool and brave, he used to ride about with his daughter in the most exposed places ; and when peace came back he might have boasted with David : "Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies that I might destroy them that hate me." But revenge was no motive of his. He tried to save innocent natives from that wild justice ; and he urged Lord Canning to confer powers of life and death on the Civil Servants as being better judges

of evidence than regimental officers. His brother, the judge of Futtehpore, who was killed bravely fighting on the top of his Court-house, lived under the same religious influences. He it was who set up at the entrance of that station the four pillars of stone, engraved in Persian and Hindee, with our Ten Commandments. I have only instanced two of the many religious men of that time, whose wisdom and bravery in the awful months of trial were only equalled by the generous and merciful spirit they displayed to the beaten enemy. Seldom in history do we find such simple following of the Christian doctrine about forgiveness. Others there were, like Colonel Neill, who justified out of the Old Testament what Sir J. Kaye calls "the indiscriminate ferocity of military men." Many of these soldiers, however, were just and gentle; unselfish, conscientious leaders like Sir James Outram, who silenced a fire-eater with the remark that officers who boast most loudly of bloodshed are often the least courageous in the battle. The moral courage, born of religious conviction, appears as constantly in the civil and military services of that time as does their calm valour; the intense belief in the moral law, in the profound gulf between right and wrong, pervades the memoirs and private letters as well as the official despatches sent to Lord Canning by his district officers. Their high sense of duty enabled them to brave unpopularity in withstanding the outcries raised by fear and revengeful passions.

Lord Canning's enemies forgot the dangers he had to meet when he assumed office at Calcutta in March, 1857—I mean the want of discipline in the Bengal army and the unrest in Oudh. To abate the first, he promptly asked for more officers for each British and native regiment, but was overruled. Lord Dalhousie had protested strongly, but vainly, when two European regiments were, in 1854, taken away to the Crimean War, urging that such withdrawals loosened our hold on India; and certainly the repetition of this policy, which has greatly weakened the British garrison



of India to supply troops for South Africa, is as serious a matter now as it was then. In 1856 more British regiments were sent away to Persia, so that when the Mutiny began there was only one European battalion left in the 750 miles which lie between Barrackpur and Agra, and only one within 100 miles radius of the fortress of Allahabad. With the kingdom of Oudh, which we had annexed and occupied about fourteen months before, 25,000 square miles and 5,000,000 of inhabitants had passed from their native prince to the Queen. Here was a new and heavy responsibility to be faced with a reduced British force. The Directors of the East India Company exulted that this conquest had been made "without the expense of a drop of blood, and almost without a murmur." They treated the acquiescence of the natives as evidence that no attachment existed to the old Government. It was known, however, that Oudh contained 60,000 men of the native king's disbanded army, while its warlike people supplied most of our own rank and file, every peasant household sending one member at least to enlist under the Company's flag. Canning, as we have seen, did what he could to make the annexation effective ; but with vast increases of territory he was forced, as Lord Curzon is now, to hold India with a smaller European force, a state of things which is soon known and noted in all the bazaars.

In times of danger and excitement there are always some who wish to dictate to the responsible authorities. Such were the Europeans in Calcutta. Soon after the outbreak at Meerut, on May 10, 1857, Lord Canning called his Parliament together and passed a series of Acts for the prompt punishment of mutiny, rebellion, and lawless crimes, and these new laws were put in force in the Mofussil of Bengal. The Calcutta people demanded that martial law should be applied to that capital and port. Lord Canning refused so to do on the ground that there was not the smallest inclination to disaffection on the part of the inhabitants. He recognised the distinction which our ancient

common law has always made between places in the hands of the rebels or enemies and those where the ordinary courts continue to perform their functions in peace. Under Lord Canning the appalling constitutional result of the Marais case in Cape Colony could never have occurred. He replied to C. Williams and other petitioners as follows : "As respects Calcutta, where English law prevails, the direct effect of proclaiming martial law would be to suspend the functions of the ordinary Courts of Judicature. This is a proposal which the Governor-General in Council cannot entertain. To substitute the jurisdiction of courts martial for that of the Supreme Court would infallibly be accompanied by much private inconvenience, uncertainty, and hardship in a community such as that of Calcutta ; and his Lordship is not aware of any commensurate public gain which, in the present state of affairs, would be derived from the change. The military authorities are already empowered to try by court-martial, and by a process more summary than that ordinarily recognised, all military offenders and all persons exciting soldiers to mutiny." This cool answer is compared by the late Duke of Argyll to a single voice of command and self-control, in the midst of a raging crowd, swayed by anger and fear. It did something to allay the panic, which, however, extended to England, where Canning became the subject of much abuse in the newspapers and censures in Parliament.

As disloyalty has spread over Cape Colony *pari passu* with the infliction of martial law over peaceable districts, it is very interesting to compare the vigorous measures of repression employed by Canning and his lieutenants in countries in open rebellion and the prompt but judicious and humane procedure they enforced in districts where the ordinary law prevailed, or had been re-established. This latter procedure contrasts at all points with the despotism at the Cape, where the Parliament is abolished ; and the courts, although sitting, are practically subservient to the orders of the general and his colonels and captains.

Now, Lord Canning challenged his detractors by the success of his methods, a success quickly attained and lasting till this day. It is pleasing to find his principles followed long after when the Kuka insurrection disturbed the Punjab; Lord Mayo then proclaimed anew the doctrine of our law that rebels in arms must be vigorously attacked by force, but added that on the return of quiet, no illegal, unnecessary or barbarous retaliation would be allowed—for example, no cold-blooded slaughter of prisoners awaiting trial in the gaols at the next assizes—by due course of civil law. It is noteworthy that in Lower Bengal, where we had only 2,400 British troops among 29,000 Sepoys, the Mutiny never assumed dangerous proportions. The prompt but measured justice applied by Canning to the Barrackpur regiment is strongly contrasted by Sir Henry Cunningham with the severe and degrading punishment of the troopers at Meerut, followed at once by the massacre and the march to Delhi. The late Duke of Argyll's verdict is that if the military tribunals at Meerut had shown the same gentleness and firmness as Canning used in Bengal, as Sir Henry Lawrence, depending on his one European regiment, used at Lucknow, the danger of general mutiny over the matter of greased cartridges might have passed away.

To enable the Ministry at home to support him against his accusers, the Governor-General, after some months had passed, wrote to explain his policy, its motives, and results. In one despatch of December 11, 1857, I find something like a history of his methods, which is full of interest, especially in the light of the literature and correspondence of those eventful years. The Indian Government deals far more fully with the question of martial law than has ever been vouchsafed as regards Cape Colony. The moment the local ruler received news of the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi, he proclaimed martial law in all the revolted districts. The same thing was done in the countries lower down the Ganges as the rebellion extended. No time was lost in the Punjab and Oudh. But because of a peculiarity

in the Indian regulations, the statutes about martial law, more stringent and judicious methods were found necessary. Lord Canning's Cabinet explains what martial law in India is not. "You cannot call it," he says, "no law at all—the mere will of the general," as it is at the Cape. It was merely a statutable means of empowering courts-martial to hold summary trial of civilians, but only of such as might be caught using arms for rebellion, or in overt acts of rebellion, or openly abetting the enemy. Canning thought that summary trial and the sentence of death should be made applicable also to other heinous offences in proclaimed areas, where arson, pillage, and grievous hurts grew common in the dissolution of all order. While he increased the effective capacity of the courts-martial, he felt that the military officer is best used as a fighting man, and that the severe and summary justice would be better dispensed by civilians, especially by the judges and magistrates of the Civil Service and some of the planting community in whom the natives had confidence. By a series of five Acts, rapidly passed after the Meerut massacre, with the advice of Chief Justice Peacock, the Government of India made a new kind of martial law, enforcible in districts where we had no troops. The civilian classes I have named, or, rather, selected members thereof, were given powers to hold trial and hang on the spot without appeal. In this way the soldier was set free to use his sword whenever the civilians returned to their judicial duty. Mr. H. C. Tucker, of Benares, urged this method on the obvious ground that the Civil Servants were experienced officers of justice. In January, 1858, Lord Canning marched to Allahabad to control the neighbouring country directly. But months before, indeed, as early as July, he had heard from high Civil Servants and stalwart non-officials that some men were abusing their tremendous powers and turning against us the hearts of the few natives who had remained loyal or neutral. I find Mr. H. C. Tucker, on July 16, 1857, warning the Collector of Mirzapore that as our military power had now been proved, we must show our moderation

by letting by-gones be by-gones, and inducing the population to return to their rural pursuits. Unless they did that, he added, famine and pestilence will follow the curse of the sword. With the same clearness of vision Mr. Gubbins, who knew Oudh well, saw that the predatory tribes, the Goojars and Meywatties, who robbed both British and mutineer convoys and caravans, were more strictly common rogues than political offenders.

In an old *Calcutta Review* I have before me a vivid account of the state of Allahabad, written evidently by a learned and thoughtful Civil Servant on duty there. He says every line of the Five Acts is written in blood. "Two private individuals and the civil surgeons (Heaven save the mark!) were invested with this awful authority—gentlemen who had seen their houses plundered and burnt, and likely to look on every *black* man as an enemy to themselves, their country, and their religion." The powers of these three men were soon revoked, but not before they had sent 178 persons to the gallows. The official record seems to me to confirm these statements. I find one assistant-surgeon stringing men up for larceny and on mere suspicions that some money or cloth found on them had been stolen. How different from the rule laid down by Mr. Farquharson, Judge, of Patna, that as God alone knows the hearts of men, he would only convict for overt acts and on unmistakable inference. The cruel impolicy of bloodshed is more startling when the Civil Servant tells us that no sign of attachment to the British or their institutions was visible when the Mutiny began. "How distasteful our rule must be to the natives when, after fifty years of peace, they prefer a yoke which was infamous for rapine and misgovernment, but which still had a hold on the affections of the people of Oudh." No wonder that Clyde and Canning began to fear that the excesses of some of these special tribunals might induce the people to band together against us to save their own lives, thus changing a mutiny of troops into a civil rebellion, and making it

impossible for the British and the natives to settle down together at the end of the war! One evil result was a growing belief that our Government intended a general and bloody prosecution of both Hindus and Mussalmans. While they feared that innocent people had been killed by the revengeful European and rapacious loyal Sepoy soldiery, the Indian Government promptly, by order of July 31, 1857, checked the abuse of power by the civilians. The despatch speaks of the spirit of bitterness and hatred rapidly seizing every class and race. "With time and returning calm the acts of Government are reviewed, and the Government which has punished blindly and revengefully will have lost its chief title to the respect of its subjects." "The settlement will be spoilt by the remembrance of needless bloodshed." It appeared that Sepoys who had risked all to save their officers' lives were in danger of their necks from some of the unjust tribunals. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal urged Canning to publish the records of those shameful trials by way of defence of his action. "No," he said, "I will not so terribly disgrace my countrymen." A quick stop was put to the wanton burning of farms and villages. Where all the villagers had joined in some grave outrage an example might be necessary, but no such devastation was to take place as would confound the innocent with the guilty. As the Allahabad civilian writes, when a village was surrounded at night to secure the males and fired, the women and children were burnt in the confusion. The result of Lord Canning's action was that the peasantry soon returned and resumed tillage quietly, as if no war was going on.

Constantly advised by the best officers and the most trusted planters, Canning's influence extended to many details. With generous scorn, he refused to keep the wives of rebels as hostages. He forbade offers of rewards for mutineers and rebels, "dead or alive." In all this he was rowing against the stream. "Not one man in ten," he wrote to the Queen, "seems to think that the hanging and shooting of 40,000 or 50,000 men can be otherwise than practicable

and right." The thoughtful official from Allahabad said despondingly: "No longer are we to dwell among the people like parents among their children. They have all—we have all—tasted blood. We hate them, and they hate us to the death." We see now that it was Lord Canning's calmness and justice which has falsified this augury.

Lest I should seem too partial to the civilians, I gladly turn to the generous prompting which Canning received from the Commander-in-Chief, that great soldier, Lord Clyde, then Sir Colin Campbell. His views were as prudent as they were merciful; and as our policy in South Africa has been so different, I will give Clyde's counsels in his own words. In a letter of December 22, 1857, to Canning, he told him that our British regiments, engaged in fighting ever since the hot months of May and June, were "reduced to skeletons, and the men are in much need of rest." Again on March 17, 1858, the day after he had recaptured Lucknow, with the loss of 1,100 men, he urged the Viceroy to save his forces from the effects of the burning winds, pressing him "that some notice should issue to the Sepoys, which may have the effect of dissolving the confederacy between the mutinous regiments," in order to prevent "a serious business all through the hot weather, which would break down our troops and be never-ending." He saw clearly that, if we went on executing every rebel Sepoy we caught, the area of the war would increase; the mutineers had no choice but to cling together, because if they went home to their villages they would be caught and hanged. In a letter of July 24, 1858, to the Duke of Cambridge, Clyde wrote as follows: "It appears to me that if these wretched criminals be not reassured, guilty though they be, it will be impossible to predict any term to the general struggle, which has already assumed formidable proportions in a very wide area, and may be extended indefinitely, viz., wherever the mutineers may be driven to carry fire and sword with them. It therefore seems to me

to be not merely a question of clemency and mercy, but of policy as regards the cessation of this war. Now, if it were desirable, we cannot look for extermination of the entire remnant of the Sepoy army. According to the terms on which we are now with that remnant, they look for nothing else than extermination, and we propose nothing else. What then can be the sequel but a most protracted contest, in which vast sections of the population will take part against us under the disbanded Sepoys?" No despatches of this sort have yet come from South Africa. It required high courage on Clyde's part to unite in policy with Canning, whose general amnesty, proclaimed on November 1, 1858, roused the European community to denounce him as ignorant, stupid, cowardly and treacherous, until the general peace which ensued over all India about six months later proved the wisdom of Canning and Clyde.

In the autumn of 1859 Canning went in great state to the scenes of the massacres, meeting the native princes and nobility at Durbars in Cawnpur, Agra, and Lucknow, the capital of Oudh. To me it seems wonderful that so new and warlike a province, the birth-place of a revolted army, which had 12,000 native artillery in its ranks, should have been pacified so soon. The contrast with Cape Colony under Lord Milner is obvious but painful. I have already described the orders which drew down on the Governor-General the taunting name of "Clemency Canning." I must now deal with his famous Oudh proclamation of March 3, 1858, sent to General Sir James Outram to issue to the civil population as soon as we had recaptured Lucknow, which was effected between the 2nd and 22nd March, by defeating the army of 100,000 which Outram had been watching, with 4,000, for six months. Canning's action was immediately branded as both cruel and impolitic. Every leading soldier in our camp objected to our confiscating the lands of a whole nation, still armed, still in the field. The *Times* correspondent, Dr. Russell, says he heard no voice in its defence. Outram protested



strongly in a letter of March 8. The lairds of Oudh, he said, would not be content with the mere offer of life and freedom from prison. He had been Governor before the rebellion : he thought they had great grievances caused by our land laws; only at the last moment did they side against us. "They ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies." If not, they would make a desperate and prolonged resistance, forcing us into "a new guerilla war, for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure." Lord Canning readily agreed in a couple of days to add a saving clause, practically promising immunity to those who would submit and help us. Outram had let him know that there were not a dozen landlords who had not fought against us or helped the rebels. Many later despatches and the judgment of the historians combine to show that there was no real difference of principle between the clement Canning and the generous Outram. The tone of the secret despatch, dated April 18, 1858, written and rather recklessly published by Lord Ellenborough, a former Governor-General, and at that time the member of the Cabinet who controlled India, may therefore be censured for the serious reasons stated by Canning. Impolitic it may have been to question the justice of the annexation of Oudh against the people's wishes and to censure the land settlement which had set the lairds against us. Nevertheless, Ellenborough's stately periods express much the same views as Outram's; and there is nothing like them in the speeches of Lord Milner or the despatches of Mr. Chamberlain. They breathe magnanimity as well as magniloquence. "We must admit that, under the circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oudh have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oudh should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty, exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted

upon a subdued nation. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have with a generous policy extended their clemency to the great body of the people. You have acted upon a different principle: you have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people. There cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation." The dispute ended in the victory of Canning. The fact seems to be that both Outram and Ellenborough were more impressed by the wording of the proclamation than by the unpublished instructions which explained the use to be made of it. The Governor-General had always been against hanging, shooting, burning, transportation and imprisonment, and he meant to let everybody keep his lands with honour if he would help to maintain order. That mitigated penalty was, as Malleson remarks, capable of still further and general mitigation. British mercy was mentioned along with British justice. But yet the proclamation, the only thing published to the people of Oudh, confiscated the whole land of that province, except the estates of six persons, named as exceptions.

The matter was fully debated by Lords and Commons. Ellenborough, put on his defence, explained that in an earlier despatch he had urged Canning to proclaim an amnesty. There was no hope, he said, of ultimate success if we refused an amnesty. He had found that means successful long ago after he had annexed Sind, when Wellington advised him to declare amnesty. Of the rebels in Oudh he exclaimed: "It was my duty to send out a message of peace and mercy. They were men who had been fighting with a rope round their neck. My object was to remove that rope. They were men who had been fighting without hope. I wish to give them hope."

Ellenborough, with good reason, asked the Lords to imagine what effect the confiscation of their lands would have on the disarmed Sepoys, twenty-one regiments of infantry, six of cavalry, half of whom came from Oudh, whom we had to watch with British troops, exactly as the Boer prisoners in India are watched now. He said: "They cannot have been engaged in the rebellion. They have been almost maddened by the attacks made on them in the course of the Mutiny, and which they have learned from the newspapers. They have been threatened with hanging, with being blown from guns, with transportation, and they are now under a panic." Besides, he added, we had come to the end of our military resources, and a loan of £10,000,000 had caused financial difficulties. The Duke of Newcastle, in support of the Minister, quoted the opinion of Sir George Clerk, a distinguished Indian Governor: "If severity is persisted in, no amount of force sent from this country will enable you permanently to retain your authority in peace." Sir Erskine Perry, an Indian Chief Justice, urged that the Oudh people were under the protection of international law and the rights of war. Sir James Graham also cited Sir John Lawrence as in favour of amnesty, along with Outram and General Mansfield, chief of Lord Clyde's staff. He relied, further, on Wellington's advice to Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Sind, and quoted Machiavelli's piece of statecraft, that it is safer to kill the owner first, before you confiscate his property. He suspected that Canning, foolishly relying on timid Civil Servants, had rejected the more prudent proposals of men like Clyde. John Bright began his speech with the remark that we were all agreed with the Directors of the East India Company that the people of Oudh were enemies rather than rebels, and so were entitled to all the rights of war; therefore, he said, "I do not see how anyone, claiming to be an Englishman and a Christian, can by any possibility escape condemning the policy of the proclamation." These arguments were met with the fact that

Lord Canning was known to be altogether in favour of clemency, however he might have expressed the conditions. The result was a general agreement on policy, and whatever sting there was in it was taken out of the proclamation in its practical working.

About a year afterwards Lord Canning wrote a minute on its wonderful success. It never became an engine of confiscation. Strangely enough, it led to a new agrarian law. It was used as a lever to establish a tenant-right for the peasant farmers exposed to the rack-renting of the war-like lords. The forfeiture was enforced altogether against only fourteen of the latter ; partial escheats occurred in the cases of a few less persistent rebels. The result was to restore the old relations between landlord and tenant existing before we dethroned the King of Oudh. The lairds were glad enough to find that we let them keep their estates. The Sepoys, who belonged to the tenant farmer families, found themselves not only safe from the gallows, but endowed also with something like Irish tenant right, at the expense of the rebel landlords. By this time the pacification had gone on apace ; 756 out of the 1,100 forts were level with the ground, and Sir Robert Montgomery, the new Civil Governor, expected to collect a weapon from each of the 2,000,000 inhabitants capable of bearing arms. Patient forbearance was extended to the most refractory ; the rebels began to believe in our mercy, and Sir Robert reported that in the Province of Oudh, "which little more than four months ago was a surging sea of rebellion and strife, profound peace and perfect safety everywhere prevail." These blessings have remained to this day. Surely this is reason enough for pressing Lord Canning's methods on the attention of the Colonial Office now that the burning of farms, the removal of women, the concentration camps, the deaths therein of 14,000 Boer children, the banishments and the executions, have only inflamed race hatreds and spread this three years' war into a colony that once was loyal.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE MUNICIPAL IDEA IN INDIA.\*

BY A. ROGERS.

THERE has been of late a frequently-repeated cuckoo cry in the mouths of those who would, whether rightly or wrongly, endeavour to pick holes in the system of British administration in India, that it has broken up the village communities or interfered with the village constitution. Such glibly sententious phrases are nice, rounded mouthfuls to produce for the delectation of an ignorant and superficial public which delights in nothing so much as an easily-uttered shibboleth that sounds well, but really conveys no intelligible sense, and it is time that the bubble should be pricked and the gas in it let out. It is time that the question should be examined in detail, and what has been done clearly set forth. For this it is indispensable that the constitution of village communities as they originally existed should be understood, how they came into existence, how they continued, and what functions they exercised. The first idea to grasp is that there was nowhere any central administration worthy of the name. There was no centre like that of the spider's nest connected with the furthest limits of its domain by delicate webs through which sensation could be conveyed outwardly instantaneously by movements of the creature's feet, or *vice versa* to the centre by the impact of some foreign substance at the most distant point, and communication be thus established between the centre and the extremities. The Peishvá had his head-quarters at Poona, where his Court had to be maintained by the contributions of revenue sent in to it by the *Sir-sabbhás* or other local officers stationed in various provinces, but took no direct part in the local administration by which that revenue was collected, and found it accordingly to be the

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for the discussion on this paper.

easiest plan to let out the right to collect that revenue sometimes to the highest bidder, and at others to some Court favourite or other person with whom he could make the best terms. This person within his own particular range followed suit and got the most he could out of it in order to maintain his own position or fill his own coffers. It was a matter of indifference to him how or under what system of administration the revenue was collected, and the less trouble and expense he was put to in realizing it, the better. The leading man or men in each village or group of villages that formed, according to hereditary custom, the unit of collection modified or maintained their ancient usages with the consent or acquiescence of those who assisted in making up the revenue, for they were as a rule mere *pari inter pares*, and contributed each his share towards the general fund required, not scrupling on occasion to sell or mortgage for the purpose land from which payment to the State was due, to take possession of the best land for their own purposes, or redistribute it as appeared most convenient or best for the common benefit, or hold it in common. Each village as a rule had its own artisans, its carpenter, its blacksmith, its potter, and others, its village priest and its astrologer, and was thus self-contained. Its own police, paid by the enjoyment of rent-free land within its own borders, kept internal order, petty crimes being dealt with by the heads of the community (the Múkh or Múkhī Patels), and all more serious offences by the Sir-súbhá or other officer of the Central Government. This state of affairs tended to disintegrate itself. As the communications of the country were opened up, and the inhabitants of such isolated and self-contained villages began through more continued intercourse with their neighbours to acquire wider connections, that cohesion which had held them together and enabled them to combine in order to further common village interests became gradually loosened, and each individual began to stand on his own feet. This state of matters necessitated the introduction of Government

officers into some parts of the country to look after the collection of the revenue from individuals. Where such has not been the case, where the cohesion among the original proprietors or coparceners of a village has been sufficiently powerful to enable them to hold together and satisfactorily perform the functions of village heads, they still remain in their original position, and the effects of the two systems can be contrasted. Is the continuation of the old one so much in favour of the people as the *laudatores temporis acti* choose to maintain?

In considering this question in the abstract, one point must be constantly borne in mind. Time does not and cannot stand still, and it may be safely said that under the old régime there was no progress. Everything stagnated, and, if the object of administration were merely to keep things going, it did not answer its purpose badly. But there must come a time, a time which has in many cases actually arrived, when in consequence of the increase of population alone things must outgrow themselves and necessitate changes. Greater and greater subdivision of land among an increasing number of people must force them to pass beyond its boundaries, and bring back new ideas with them from outside incompatible with the continuance of the old state of affairs. Now, what has been done, and what was it possible to do to meet these circumstances? All experience proves that to provide an inefficient machinery for the purpose would not only be useless, but would be positively harmful. The Indian Governments have, therefore, merely looked about to ascertain whether there might be anything in the ancient native organization of society that showed in it an aptitude for carrying out any particular branch of the public administration, and found it in the ability to execute public works. Towards this, then, much attention has been directed in all parts of the country, and laws have been passed with a view to foster municipal institutions in every province. Thus it was hoped, and not unreasonably, that a vent would be found for the useful employment of any superfluous local energy that

might be found to exist in a manner beneficial to itself as well as to others. Those who were not immediately required for agricultural operations in the villages, or who through the education provided for them by the State had assimilated the idea that there were other methods for employing their minds, were thus to be afforded their opportunity in the conduct of municipal institutions, which were accordingly organized by various Acts of the Legislature. This it was, of course, impossible to carry out at once in such a vast country as British India, nor was it possible to hit off without experience of their working the subsidiary provisions that were necessary to suit the peculiarities of different localities inhabited by races having various customs; but the system has at all events been established, and is working, however imperfectly. It will now be our task to ascertain to what extent these institutions, to use a common phrase, have caught on and are being utilized by those for whom they are intended, and we are bound to express a considerable feeling of disappointment at the general result of the experiment. It would run an ordinary paper to an inordinate length were we to attempt to do this for the whole of the country, and we therefore propose to confine our attention to the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, the reports for which for the year 1899-1900, as well as the resolutions of the two Governments on those reports, are now before us. The verdict of the former is that out of sixty municipalities the administration in two was unsatisfactory, in nine it was not efficient, in thirty-three it was fairly satisfactory, and in sixteen good. In Bombay the general conclusion is that there was nothing new in the reports as to the efficiency of the municipalities; there could be no doubt that on the whole they were doing useful work. Two municipalities, viz., those of Bassein and Alibagh, had been superseded for maladministration and incompetency. The number of meetings held was generally satisfactory except in the case of a few Boards in the Central and Southern Divisions, where also the average attendance was smaller than it should



have been. The total number of municipalities was 165,\* inclusive of the four in the towns of Karáchi, Hyderábád, Shikárpur, and Sukkur in Sind, as in the previous year.

It would be foreign to our purpose to go into the details of the taxation by which the necessary funds for the support of these institutions were raised, or the incidence of that taxation in the several municipalities, our object being to show how far the opportunity for assisting in local self-government in different localities has been made use of by the amount of attention devoted to the subject by individual members of the municipal committees.

We are glad to see that encouragement is given in the Bombay resolution to the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of those municipalities who have distinguished themselves by their exertions during the year by the publication of their names as an example to others: this was in the municipalities of Broach, Poona, Igatpuri, Lonáula, Dhárwar, and Bijápur. It would be as well if the Government of Madras would do the same, and services of this nature would be cheaply rewarded by the bestowal on those worthy of it of the new Order of Merit recently instituted for service in India. To come to particulars: In the twenty-one Madras municipalities there were altogether 1,735 meetings held; of these (or possibly exclusively of these, for the returns are not clear), meetings to the total number of 166 had to be adjourned for want of the attendance of a quorum. Among these, the chief offenders were the municipalities of Mangalore, Vellore, and Cuddapah, which figure respectively for nineteen, fifteen, and fourteen occasions.

In Bombay the returns are given in different forms for the different divisions. In the Northern Division, out of 357 quarterly and special meetings held, thirty-three had to be adjourned for want of a quorum, and 182 out of 536 Commissioners or Councillors did not attend at two-thirds. In the Central Division, out of 556 meetings, 158 had to be adjourned; but whether in the absence of a quorum or for

\* Not including the town and island of Bombay.

other reasons the Commissioner's report does not specify. In the Southern Division, out of 375 meetings adjournments took place in 103, but it is not stated for what reasons. It is seen from the Collectors' reports, however, that there was considerable laxity in this particular. The Collector of Dharwar had seriously warned the non-attending members that they should attend more frequently or resign their seats, and the number of special meetings in five other municipalities is said to have been inadequate. In Gokák all four quarterly meetings, and in nine other places three out of four, were adjourned for want of a quorum, while in twenty-two municipalities there was a falling off in the attendance at general meetings. In the twenty-one municipal towns in Sind (inclusive of Karáchi, Hyderábád, Sukkur, and Shikárpur), 139 out of the 353 Councillors failed to attend two-thirds of the general meetings.

Looking at the matter as a whole, it appears that about one-third of the members of the municipal committees in the two Presidencies are inefficient and two-thirds efficient; but the latter, it must be remembered, include the officials, whose attention to business and interest in the prosperity of their charges is in a manner guaranteed. This, considering the outcry that British administration has deprived the people of every opportunity for regulating their own local affairs, is distinctly disappointing. And this remark cannot be confined to the two presidencies under immediate consideration. Sir Macworth Young, the lately retired Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, has recorded his opinion on the subject of the advancement in local self-government in that province in the last eighteen years, during which Lord Ripon's policy in that respect has been in force, to the effect that the people rarely manifest any interest in the election of their representatives, and the elected representatives rarely represent the real interests of their constituents. If any position on the Board is coveted, it is that of the nominated, not of the elected, members, and District Boards in general are merely consultative, not executive, bodies,

reflecting the disposition of the Deputy Commissioner, whose appointment as President has been necessitated in almost every case by the prevalence of party feeling and sectarian strife. The absence of a wholesome public spirit in the rural community lies at the root of this failure, and until this want is supplied local self-government in rural tracts of the Panjab will be more or less of a farce. Does this opinion not amply bear out what it has been attempted to show above by the municipal statistics of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies? But as it is by no means our purpose to throw cold water on the subject, or discourage the idea of local self-government in municipal matters, let us see what can be done towards encouraging the formation of the local public opinion, which we are at one with Sir Macworth Young in considering necessary, not only for the advancement of the country, but also as a measure of relief to the present centralized system, which has really more to bear than it can properly carry on its own shoulders. It is evident that the time has not arrived when we can trust to the public spirit of even the most advanced among the rural population to come forward of their own accord and take part in the management of their own local affairs out of a sense of public duty, and that some inducement must be held out to prompt them to do so. Most of the municipalities hitherto established are in large towns or populous villages, and the facts noted above prove how difficult it is to keep even these up to the mark, so that it is useless to hope for the spread of municipal ideas among the strictly rural communities without further steps being taken by authority. We would therefore propose that in the first place larger municipal centres should be created by the combination of conveniently-situated villages into municipal groups, in order to render the work of more importance, as well as to procure larger funds out of which to pay the necessary establishments. In single villages, such as the first municipalities established by Sir Bartle Frere in Sattara, and which, by-the-by, have all disappeared, enough

could rarely be raised to more than support even the most modest scale of clerical assistance. Larger municipal groups are thus an absolute necessity. It would be an inducement for the heads of villages to give their time and labour to such institutions if some distinctive title were given to them to distinguish them from their fellows, and some small fee given them for attendance at meetings. In the present constitution of rural society it is too much to expect that men should give up gratuitously much of the time they require to gain their own living by agriculture to such extraneous duties without any return. In any case, it must be a case of patience and constant attention on the part of the local revenue and magisterial authorities to foster the requisite local public spirit, but there can be little doubt of its creation in course of time. When once created, the powers of such local bodies could cautiously and by degrees be extended, and the superintendence of police, minor criminal, civil, and educational matters, entrusted to them, to the relief of the Collectors and Magistrates, whose time is now too much taken up with looking after such matters. Our maxim in all attempts at progress in this direction should, of course, be the old and true one of *festina lente*, for, as in other undertakings, it is often the pace that kills.

Since writing the above paper, I have examined the official returns of the municipalities in Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and the Central Provinces, for the same year, and although on the whole the reports are fairly satisfactory in the matter of attendance at meetings, the actual progress made was not what one might look for, considering the length of time municipal administration had been in force.

In Bengal, for instance, there were 153 municipalities, of which twenty-five failed to hold one meeting a month; and out of a total of 2,515 meetings, 243 were unsuccessful, and had to be put off for various causes. The municipality of

Patna is the only one really favourably reported on, whilst the three important towns of Hooghly, Bardwán, and Howrah are unfavourably noticed. This, the Lieutenant-Governor remarks, is to be regretted, as they contain people of education, from whom more might have been expected. Garden-Reach, close to Calcutta itself, failed to hold twelve meetings for two consecutive years. The average attendance is stated by the Lieutenant-Governor to have been satisfactory, but his view that it was sufficient for practical administrative purposes appears somewhat optimistic.

In the North-West Provinces and Oudh the number of municipalities was 1,104. Although on the whole a spirit of progress and a better appreciation of their duty and responsibility were evinced by the Commissioners, the administration was stated to be of unequal merit, the efficiency being lowest in small municipalities from want of experience and guidance, and in a few where selfish class interests or intrigue among the members of the Boards affected the administration; of the latter Budáon is given as the worst example. Greater interest appears to have been shown in elections to seats. Fyzábád alone has a non-official chairman, and in all other Boards but six the Boards elect their own, the choice in eighty-two having fallen on the District Magistrate himself. In the municipality of Bánda the discreditable average attendance of only one-third of the members of the Board is noticed, and Unáo is reported to have held less than twelve meetings, and to be otherwise defective in its administration. In the Central Provinces the number of municipalities was fifty-two, of which only eighteen were in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. One, Hutta, was withdrawn in the course of the year, and the Chief Commissioner remarks that it would probably be better if others were so as well. Generally favourable results are reported in the Jubbulpore and Chhatisgarh divisions, and a deficient number of meetings in Narsinghpur, Betul, and Multai. In Nágpur the

Commissioners are said to be habitually unpunctual, so that only three meetings were held with a full number. A few members were reported by the Deputy Commissioners for zeal and energy, and administration on the whole is said to have been satisfactory.

The impression conveyed by the working of municipal institutions in these three provinces is pretty much the same as that in those already noticed, and points clearly to the necessity, if they are to be a real success, of the adoption of some such measures as those recommended in this paper to give the requisite stimulus to the idea of local self-government in India.

## THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE FURTHER ADMISSION OF NATIVES OF INDIA.\*

BY J. B. PENNINGTON.

NEARLY eleven years ago Mr. Connell read a very excellent and exhaustive paper on the above subject, and came to the conclusion that we "could not then foresee the time when it will cease to be necessary in all the higher branches of the administration that a *large proportion* of appointments should be held by members of the covenanted Civil Service, or that this *corps d'élite* should be mainly European."

What I wish this meeting to consider is, whether we have now reached that time; or, at any rate, whether it is possible to materially decrease the proportion of appointments to be held by members of the Civil Service, and to decrease the proportion of Europeans in that service. Before going further, I think it desirable to say that I quite accept the view expressed by Sir Richard Meade, chairman of Mr. Connell's meeting, that "it is the wish at the present time (1891) of all the best officers in India to do everything that is possible to advance the natives, and to give them a fair share in the administration of their country," and I am quite satisfied that it is the *bonâ fide* policy of the English people—so far as they can be said to have any policy on the subject—to so educate and train the natives of India that they may become fit to manage their own affairs if, like the Romans in Britain, we should at any time find it convenient to leave. If we are driven out of the country by superior force, we should naturally have no responsibility for the consequences; but if at any time the English democracy should make up its mind to retire voluntarily, and we had not so prepared the natives that

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review* for discussion on this paper.

they would have a reasonable prospect of carrying on the government, we should, in my opinion, be everlastingly disgraced. I do not profess to know enough of the views of the democracy to say whether such a contingency ought to be provided for; but, if it is at all within the bounds of possibility, it is clear that it ought to be our endeavour to constantly reduce the proportion of Europeans in the service of the Government, and that we ought systematically to keep the number of Europeans down to the very minimum absolutely necessary to carry on the government on the present system.

I should also like to point out that if, as even Mr. Dada-bhai seems to admit, a certain number of Europeans in the Civil Service are still indispensable, the present system of entirely open competition is very illogical, and even ludicrous; because it is quite on the cards, however improbable, that a sufficient number of native candidates *might* appear in any year and succeed in securing all the vacancies. We need not go far to find native gentlemen who have come out very high in the list of successful candidates—my friend Mr. Dutt is a most conspicuous example—and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that, if a sufficient number were in a position to undertake such an expensive and abhorrent voyage, they *might* beat all their European competitors. Why not? There are certainly a sufficient number of clever youths in the whole of India; and when we have a Madras Brahmin coming out first in English composition, and with extremely high marks, one does not know what might happen if the conditions of the examination were such as to admit of unlimited competition from India. It is much to be regretted, I think, that those conditions are not at present either fair or reasonable. The native candidate of small means is most unfairly handicapped by having to make a long journey, the expense of which is prohibitory to all but the well-to-do, so that the number of natives competing has always been extremely limited in comparison even with the educated



population. I cannot bring myself to believe that it is the deliberate intention of any body of English gentlemen to put such an unfair obstacle in the way of the aspiring native. Not that I object to the competitors having to come to England. I am most strongly opposed to the farce of simultaneous examinations in India and England for many reasons, but especially because the mere journey is a test of enterprise, which is in itself an invaluable proof of fitness, and I believe that a few years' residence in this country is almost indispensable for any candidate, if only to show his superiority to antiquated caste prejudices; but to make the possession of wealth a *sine quâ non* for admission into the Civil Service is utterly destructive of the first principle of open competition. I would therefore do whatever is possible to make the competition really *fair*, subject to the conditions that the examination shall be held only in London, and that some residence at a University in this country, either before or after the examination, shall be insisted on. I do not propose to enter on the question of the fitness of natives for high office in India, because I assume that is already taken for granted under the present system of completely open competition. But before making any suggestion as to possible reform, I ought, perhaps, to refer, however briefly, to other proposals that have been made—notably, by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Even he, as I said before, seems to admit—I am not quite sure whether he does or not—that a certain backing of Europeans is still indispensable, though, as far as I am aware, he has never put forth any estimate of the number he would retain. Clearly, however, he thinks the time has come when the administration should be practically in the hands of natives, and he bases his aspirations on two grounds: first, the repeated pledges of 1833 and 1858, to the effect that, “*so far as may be*, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, shall be freely and impartially appointed to offices in our service,” and that “no one shall be excluded *merely* by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of

them"; and, secondly, on the ruinous expense of the present system; his theory being that we must substitute native for European labour from one end of the service to the other if we are to avoid ruining the country altogether by the so-called "tribute" or "drain." Needless to say, Mr. Dadabhai does not emphasize those words in the proclamations to which I would invite particular attention.

As far as I can see, a great deal too much has been made of these proclamations. They were, no doubt, as Lord Lytton observed, couched in language only too well calculated to excite the unreasonable expectations of the natives; but, fairly considered, they were evidently never intended to go further than to say that all appointments should be open to all British subjects "so far as may be consistent with the safety and security of our dominions," as Sir Robert Peel himself said. And if the Government of India is still of opinion that the proportion of Europeans in the Civil Service is incapable of reduction with due regard to the safety of the whole country—for which they, and they alone, are responsible—I for one should not question their decision, even though the majority of the witnesses examined by the Commission in 1886-88 decided otherwise; but, judging by Madras alone, the only province I know, I should still be of opinion that more appointments, especially in the Judicial, Engineering, and Educational Departments, might safely and advantageously be filled by natives. I must admit, however, that every speaker at Mr. Connell's meeting who showed any sense of responsibility for what he said seemed to agree with the writer of the paper that the time had not then come for any great reduction in the number of Europeans in the Civil Service. Mr. Dadabhai thinks otherwise; but it is difficult to argue with him, as he always declines to consider objections on their merits, and is satisfied to dispose of them all by the mere assertion that they are all "insincere." I, of course, cannot believe any such thing of the many reasonable men who spoke on that occasion, and showed themselves, like

Mr. Tupp and the chairman, so anxious to be absolutely fair. But, says he, look at the history of the "simultaneous examinations" question, so summarily disposed of "contrary to the evidence," as Mr. Martin Wood said. It is true Mr. Wood corrected himself at once by explaining that he meant "contrary to the opinion of the majority of the witnesses," a very different sort of statement; but Mr. Dadabhai will not believe that anyone can "honestly" believe it "impracticable" to hold simultaneous examinations in the two countries with any hope of fairness, and will probably disbelieve me when I say that I am entirely in favour of making the competition as fair as it is possible to make it, even at considerable extra expense. When, however, we come to his second argument, based on the ruinous expense of the present system of government, I have always felt that here he is on much stronger ground, and he is certainly supported by a great cloud of witnesses, beginning with that greatest of all Madrassees, Sir Thomas Munro, who said very truly that "our books alone will do little or nothing; dry, simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect it must open the road to wealth, honour, and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people." No doubt we have advanced a long way in the direction recommended by Munro, and I hope no responsible statesman would be found nowadays to echo the Duke of Wellington's dictum, that "the higher offices must" (even yet) "be closed against natives if our empire in India is to be maintained"; but the time has come, in my opinion, when we must be prepared to go a great deal further still, and to say that not even the highest post under the Crown need be refused to any native *who has proved his fitness to hold it*. To prove that there are such men to be found in India at the present time, I might safely appeal to the experience of many in this room whose opinions will carry far greater weight than mine; but I will content myself by adopting the

generous words of the Chairman of this Association on a recent occasion, and say that when I "look back on my life in India and the many good friends I had there among all classes of the native community, when I remember those *honourable*, industrious, law-abiding, sober, *manly* men," I doubt if we have a greater choice of excellent officials even in this country. But for the madness of mere racial prejudice in India, I see no reason at all why one of our Chairman's many friends should not conduct the business of one of our provinces quite as successfully as, I suppose, Ranjitsinji manages the Sussex Eleven. Let us not be generous in words only, but rest assured that we may safely employ many more of such men as were described so sympathetically by Sir Lepel Griffin.

As I said in my opening remarks, my only object in writing this short and very imperfect paper is simply to elicit opinions more valuable than my own; but as I suppose I must offer some actual concrete suggestions for criticism, I would say that the irreducible minimum of Europeans required should be carefully determined every year, with a *bonâ fide* intention of keeping the number as low as may be compatible with safety, and that for the remaining vacancies a sufficient number of the best natives to fill them all should be selected in Bombay by some simple but searching examination, and that the successful candidates should be sent over to England *at Government expense* to compete again on equal terms *for all the services*, Home and Colonial, as well as Indian; and I think it quite likely that a native of India, who was enterprising enough to enter for the Home Civil Service, might be even more useful as a public servant here than in India. He would, at any rate, be free from the pernicious influence of innumerable needy relations, one of the great advantages a foreigner possesses in any country.

I ought, perhaps, to note here that, in addition to those selected and sent to England at the expense of the Indian Government to compete for the vacancies in that service,

as many other natives as chose would, of course, be entitled to enter for vacancies in the Home and Colonial services, and should be encouraged to do so more than they are at present.

I may add that, speaking as I do for Madras only, I have no fear that the Bengalies would carry off all the appointments.

Lastly, as I have said elsewhere, if we do not frankly acknowledge the equal rights of natives in India and England, how can we expect the colonials in South Africa to recognise them at all?

I should be sorry to think that the rulers of India were "trying to balance themselves on a dangerous pinnacle of despotic intolerance," in the rather strong language of Sir Richard Garth six years ago; but it is certainly, I think, very desirable that they should, as he suggests, "descend to a safer level and invite the confidence and co-operation of the people" in their difficult work.

## THE POVERTY OF THE RAYAT.

BY RUSTICUS.

By the time that these pages appear those interested in India will have learned the result of Sir W. Wedderburn's deputation to the Secretary of State on behalf of the "Famine Union." The object was to beg for a full inquiry into the poverty of the Rayat, and one can very well forecast the answer of official optimism. Such an inquiry was held in 1879-80 by the Commission of which the late Sir James Caird was President, and the results are recorded in the very able report drawn up by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Elliott. You may go into test villages, taken at random, and probe the life and condition of every cultivator, investigate the origin of his indebtedness, and trace the nature of his security, the rate of his resource, the amount already paid, and the prospect (if any) of ultimate clearance. But even so the whole truth will not be learnt, or if it could yet you would never know whether the poor man was better off than he was twenty years ago. Even so you could not base any administrative reform on such statistics. So it may be argued.

On the other hand, we have the Congress of 1901 demanding organic reform without any statistical basis whatever. The chronic poverty of the Rayat is held to be due to periodic enhancements of the fiscal demand from the land, the only remedy consequently being a permanent settlement. This assertion is traversed by the Government resolution of January 17.

Whichever of these views may be accepted as correct, it is evidently a very serious position. To do nothing is to let the state of the agriculturists drift from bad to worse, and the agriculturists are 80 per cent. of the vast Indian population. To make a permanent assessment upon fluctuating assets is to compromise an item of national

income which must be at least 40 per cent. of the yearly revenue—in other words, to transfer a portion of the payment of revenue from the customary Oriental source to the comparatively small section of the community that is capable of taxation. For the so-called “land-tax” of India—as has been so often pointed out—is not a tax at all; the Rayat would pay the same amount of rent whatever became of it, and the Ma’afidars, who pay nothing to the State, are no better off than the Zemindars who do. Nevertheless taxation, in the true technical sense, is always difficult in a region where the population is poor and unrepresented; an Indian has only to abstain from litigation and luxury, and his obligatory contribution to the necessities of the protecting power will be limited to an excise upon the salt which seasons his daily diet.

The present writer would be far from admitting that no administrative reform can be based upon statistical inquiry; on the contrary, the report of Sir A. MacDonnell’s Commission shows that several important reforms may be suggested. So far as these relate to famine relief, they are matters of detail to be discussed by experts. Sir Charles Elliott has criticised some of them very ably in a recent number of the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY*, and when the proposals of the Commission were embodied in legislative action at Bombay the native members of the Council voted against them to a man. But there is something of even greater importance than the relief of famine distress—namely, the prevention of its occurrence. People do not now suffer from this kind of calamity in civilized countries such as England and France. The question may naturally be asked, Why is India so particularly afflicted? Setting aside physical difficulties—though such undoubtedly there are—we can see that if the people had money enough the pressure of occasional short crops would not cause so much misery. It has indeed been stated that during all the late trouble there was a sufficient stock of food in the country for every inhabitant, had there only been money to buy it

with. Now that is a very serious matter, and one that takes Indian famine out of the category of Divine visitation and brings it into that of evils remediable by man.

The local authorities are aware of this, and have proposed a remedy which is now the subject of active experiment. If the individual Rayat be so poor and his credit so low that he cannot raise money, let it be tried whether combination will help him. *Union fait force*, as the Belgians say, and it is accordingly proposed to establish co-operative associations in the rural districts, which may be able to lend and borrow, and fund the means of making advances on reasonable terms, to needy agriculturists. The experiment is certainly interesting; the difficulty is very tersely stated in Sir C. Elliott's paper already cited, and the local press has confirmed his criticism. To start a co-operative credit association requires capital, and it is natural to ask in any such case whence that capital is to come. An aggregate of ciphers will not make a sum, and a pauper peasant is but a cipher. One is reminded of Thackeray's remark when an impecunious friend spoke of a mutual "Hand-in-hand" society. "I quite see," said the great author, "the members have nothing, and they lend it to one another." There is but one man probably in a small village community who has either financial resources or habits of business—namely, the local money-lender, who makes the necessary advances to the agriculturists on the security of the crops and the land. For such accommodation he charges a high rate of interest, and if he is to be invited to join a loan fund paying a reasonable dividend, he must be offered material compensation. From this there is no escape; call the man Shylock, if you will—Shylock, as has been observed elsewhere, must be either conciliated or cashiered.

If we proceed to ask, What are the necessities by virtue of which a usurer exists in every Indian village? we are met with two explanations. None who know the facts will deny that a perennial demand for cash arises from the



habits of the people ; from their craving for amusement, no less than from their beliefs and practice. Funerals and weddings, fakirs and fireworks, hospitality, charity, ceremonial observance, all combine to cause constant expenditure ; but all could, to a great extent at least, subsist without that expenditure taking the shape of coin. It is the payment of the State's dues in specie that renders a supply of rupees always needful ; four times a year must the peasant pay that demand on pain of ruin. In thus fixing his obligations, the Government has been doing what appeared kind and just ; demands once capricious and uncertain have been fixed and limited. Let the cultivator—whether he hold under a landlord or under the State—pay his quit-rent at the appointed time, and all will be well ; in bad years he may fall back on the reserve accumulated in those whose produce left a margin. The mischief is that the idea of doing this has never entered into the people's heads ; he never holds any reserve, and, when he wants cash, has to get it from the "Bunya."

To record the whole history of Oriental revenue is not to be attempted here ; a concise and impartial statement of the case was attempted by the late Sir George Campbell,\* but the work is still to do. Many centuries are gone since the geographer Strabo noticed that in the East "all the land is royal," and all that was done in India by the more civilized of her rulers was to limit and define the tribute which the Sovereign should receive from those who developed the land's resources. That was the object of Sher Shah, Akbar, and the great Finance Minister Todar Mull. When the East India Company, after the Battle of Buxar, instructed their agents in Bengal to "stand forth as Diwan," that system was still in force, only that in the degeneracy of the Mughol Empire the officials of the State had mostly withdrawn from the business of collecting the State's portion of the produce, devolving the duty on managers or contractors. The ideal avowed by the founders of the

\* Cobden Club Papers, 1876.

system had been that the State was entitled to one-third of the gross produce, and it was to be collected in kind, excepting that a few specially marketable items—known as “zubti”—were subject to an Excise instead of being divisible. Under the Viceroys of Bengal and Bihar there was no limit in actual practice ; the managers and contractors collected as much as they could, and paid to the Viceroy's Treasury as little as the Viceroy could compel. Warren Hastings adopted that method, subject to the condition of punctuality. No questions were asked so long as the revenue was duly paid by the “Zemindars,” who were no more owners of the land than a Tahsildar is of his Tahsil, which he manages, but cannot alienate or bequeath.

Then came Lord Cornwallis, a military veteran of high rank and character, who persuaded the authorities in London that great advantages were to be obtained by vesting the property in these officials or farmers, and the “Permanent Settlement” was the result. By fixing for all time the payments due from the State, Cornwallis pledged the State to waive all unearned increment, all share in the gradual increase in prices, and, since the State is the steward of the tax-paying community, this entailed a gradual increase in taxation. That was a flaw in the system, as Campbell is careful to point out ; but the other charge usually brought he firmly denies, quoting official records and the findings of the High Court to prove that the proprietorship conferred upon the Zemindars in 1793 was not absolute and never intended to swamp the rights of the cultivating classes. Be this as it may, the point for us to notice is that the policy of that period set the example to all succeeding times. However the land-revenue work of Monro might differ from that of Elphinstone or Bird, there was always the common object of determining what was to be demanded from the land, and by whom that demand was to be met.

The demand never, under any of the various methods employed in British India, aimed at an exact estimate of the *gross* produce of the soil ; nevertheless—since it was to be

a portion of the *net* produce—some appraisement of the outturn was necessarily involved. We have seen that the most humane and able of the Muhamadan rulers adopted as their standard of assessment a ratio of one in three of this outturn ; and the sums so realized are recorded to have been enormous, exceeding all that the present rulers raise from all sources of income. Now that the money has lost a full half of its purchasing power, the modern demand, being limited to 50 per cent. of the net rental, is probably not much more than a tenth of the gross produce—a rate which general experience shows to be moderate. If only it could be paid by the producer in the form most convenient to himself ! On the other hand, the Treasury must evidently have cash ; it cannot pay its civil and military establishments in rice or millet. The person who passes the cash value into the Treasury is known in many parts as the *Malguzar*, and it may be convenient to use the word here. Well, then, the question asked by the British Indian officials after estimating the value of the *Mal*—the assets—has always been, Who is to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ? and it is evident that the duty cannot be directly discharged by the actual cultivating peasant under any possible system.

These things appear to have escaped the notice of the best authorities of modern times. It is a peculiarity—to some extent an advantage—of Indian administration in modern times that it is in the hands of a class of highly-trained and industrious specialists. Such men are sure to be able in detail, but not so sure to be wise and flexible in thought. Having but little respite from the work of the hour, they cannot pause to think out things for themselves, and are obliged to act upon the traditions and principles that they have received from their predecessors. Now it is obvious that, as long as such rules are right, the industry with which they are applied is of great benefit to the people. If, however, the rules have originated in conditions which have ceased to exist, the case is evidently altered, and the

labour so strenuously bestowed is not merely lost, but often made an instrument of evil.

It is for this reason that the efforts of the "Union" mentioned above are to be regarded as promising of benefit to India. Under the rule of the Old East India Company, now almost passed from recollection, abuses were by no means rare, but a remedy was never far remote. Every twenty years the Company's charter lapsed, and ere it could be renewed a long discussion occurred, alike in Parliament and in the press. Were such consultations held in the present day they would be doubtless founded on a searching inquiry such as is urged by the "Union." It is impossible to predict with any certainty what the result of such an inquiry would be. It might show that all which ought to be known in regard to the condition of the Rayat was already established, and that the Government could effect nothing more for his protection against distress and debt. On the other hand, it might be shown that the Rayat was most prosperous and contented in Bengal; that the element of perpetuity in the demand was indeed the flaw that Campbell called it, and not the panacea contemplated by the Congress;\* but that, apart from this, the prosperity of Bengal was attributable to the nature of the land-revenue system. Almost alone in British India, the old provinces in this lieutenancy raise their share of the rent from middlemen, and the actual cultivator is spared the trouble and anxiety involved in the office of Malguzar.

\* "A financial mistake," the sometime Governor calls it, and "a sin against posterity."—(*Systems of Land-Tenure*, edited for the Cobden Club by J. W. Probyn, p. 145).

## MOROCCO : THE SULTAN AND THE BASHADOURS.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

THE presence, in January and February, of no less than four of the representatives of the Powers at the coast town of Rabat during the temporary stay there of the young Sultan, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, and his Court, has afforded the Ministers of England, Austria, Germany, and France the opportunity of treating directly with His Shereefian Majesty, instead of conducting negotiations from Tangier.

The object of Sir Arthur Nicolson's visit was to confirm and ratify the arrangements discussed last summer in London with the Sultan's special envoy, Sid el-Mahdi-el-Menebhi, who, it may be remembered, afterwards visited Berlin, whence he returned, suddenly, and, apparently, in disgrace, attended by Kaid Sir Harry Maclean.

Those who knew what was passing at the Shereefian Court, then at Morocco City, the southern capital of the Moorish Empire, thought, indeed, that it was only the presence of "the Kaid," together with urgent remonstrances from the English Legation at Tangier, which saved Menebhi from arrest on a serious charge of speculation. The inference was that England had suffered an awkward check, since it was evident that the old Moorish faction with Sid Fedoul Gharnit, long Minister for Foreign Affairs under the late Sultan, Mulai el Hassan, and certainly one of the most wily and adroit of Moorish Vizirs, was then in the ascendant. To-day, however, Menebhi is, more than ever, a power at Court—a circumstance which favours a radical change of policy, together with the possible reform of many old customs that "were more honoured in the breach than the observance."

Nothing, indeed, has more surprised those who best know Morocco than this sudden change of attitude on the part of the officials, in whose hands, for the moment at

least, is vested the power to dispose of the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants.

After the death, in 1894, of Mulai el Hassan, and whilst the late Grand Vizir, Ba Hamed ben Musa, a fanatical Moslim of the old type, resolute in his fixed opposition to all foreign influence, was in office, the young Sultan himself seemed but a pale effigy of authority, without policy or will of his own, an inert and uninterested spectator of events, scarcely known to his subjects except as a passive feature in state functions. No sooner, however, was the imperious Vizir dead, than Abd-el-Aziz threw off the silence and reserve which had hitherto characterized him, and awoke from his apparent lethargy. Never, perhaps, has a change so sudden or radical been seen. Eager and alert, the once immobile prince now shows the most lively interest in all that concerns his country and his people, and what is the more surprising, considering the circumstances and his education, welcomes with enthusiasm frequent innovations from abroad, and betrays the most lively curiosity concerning foreign customs and modern inventions, even to the sports in which the foreign communities take so keen a delight. Not only has he become an adept on his bicycle and with the camera (with a special predilection for the snapshot), but he has had a cement tennis court laid at Rabat for the purpose of enjoying the game with his diplomatic guests; whilst, on other occasions, discarding all his Oriental magnificence of velvet saddles embroidered in gold, he rides to the hounds on English leather and dressed like an English sportsman.

How striking such a change must seem to many of his subjects can best be realized when the fact is remembered that only fourteen years ago, when Mulai el Hassan, the late father of the present Sultan, visited Tangier, a European photographer, established in front of the legations, was stoned by the mob for venturing to photograph the Sultan as the latter rode through the main street of the town on his way to the principal mosque.

This sudden departure from the habits and even the modes of thought of former rulers of Morocco is attributed, by most observers, to the personal ascendancy and influence of El Mahdi and to the latter's intimacy with Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, the Scotch Military Instructor of His Shereefian Majesty's forces. Sid el-Mahdi-el-Menebhi has usually filled the post of Minister of War, and, although he does not always enjoy the titular rank of Grand Vizir, is, when in favour, the virtual Prime Minister of his Sovereign. These somewhat pro-English influences have been of late undoubtedly strengthened and enforced by the Sultan's personal regard and esteem for the British Minister, Sir Arthur Nicolson.

There has, however, been another and scarcely less eventful factor in the equation—viz., the fear of France, provoked by the occupation of Tuat on the south-eastern confines of Morocco, and by the advance, last summer, of French troops upon the Moorish town of Figuig.

Between these two contending forces the face of the young Sultan appears, with each succeeding month, to be set more firmly towards the reforms which he is urged to effect. Amongst these figure, in the first instance, the abandonment of the vicious system of the farming out of the collection of "the tenth," or tax upon agriculture, together with the substitution of paid officials, including Kaids and governors, in the place of the insatiable native officials now allowed to levy at pleasure upon the towns or bashalicks confided to their care.

Next in order is the removal of the innumerable barriers to trade and commerce, with a more general permission to export produce, hitherto limited to a few articles, such as beans, maize, aniseed, leather, gum, etc., and, finally, the establishment of means of communication, such as roads, bridges, railways, telegraphs, etc.—not so much in the shape of concessions to foreign companies, but as operations to be carried out directly by the Government itself.

The dangerous point in connection with these plans is

the necessity for the employment of experts, not merely to carry out administrative experiments of so novel a character, especially for such an "old-bottle" country as Morocco, one where the new wine must be poured into the ancient receptacles with more than usual care, in order to avoid a serious catastrophe to the antique skin with which the would-be reformer is condemned to deal, but experts—and who says "experts," knows that this "subject" must of necessity be qualified by the adjective "foreign," since, among the natives of this degenerate land, no experts, save in the matter of mendacity, are to be found—but experts, as has been said, must be employed when the aforementioned public works are concerned, both engineers and, more especially, financial experts, without whom it would be impossible to obtain the large sums that are required—sums larger than either the Shereefian Treasury or the Customs of the various coast towns can supply, since, unfortunately, both Menebhi, during his recent ambassadorial excursions, and his Imperial master himself, have been spending more freely of late upon toys of various descriptions than has been quite prudent—toys ranging in importance from jewels for the ladies of the harem to motor-cars, and from "bikes" for practice in the Sultan's private grounds to so costly a plaything as a hundred kilometres of rails, with a neat selection of rolling-stock—not for commercial purposes, but, like the bicycles, merely for private amusement—whilst for higher flights a balloon figures in the list of orders.

In this emergency money must be found, and it may therefore be assumed that the modest announcement vouchsafed to the press, "that England and Morocco have agreed upon a *modus vivendi*," means, in reality, that a loan in one shape or another has been, or will shortly be, negotiated; indeed, a rumour is current among the populace that England is about to assume a virtual protectorate over Morocco! In fact, a protectorate appears, not only to the natives, but to many foreign observers as well, the



only really effective means of realizing the proposed improvements.

The Sultan and his advisers are now already upon the horns of this dilemma, or they will soon be there; for it is almost certain to be a case of *no* protectorate, *no* reforms, *or* a protectorate more or less disguised, *and* trouble with France.

The Parisian press has, indeed, already spoken with no uncertain voice. The first paper to call public attention to the subject was an Opposition organ, *Le Gaulois*, which, under the heading "England at Tangier"—after alluding to the arrival at the latter town of several English *non*-commissioned officers to instruct the Sultan's troops (troops which are clad in uniform and equipment of English make), and to other real or imaginary indications of English preponderance—urges the French authorities to act while it is yet time, and before the Mediterranean has been closed by the British sentinels at Tangier, as well as at Gibraltar. Subsequently *Le Temps* and *La Patrie*, more serious journals and more Governmental in tone, take up the refrain, also advocating a vigorous policy on the part of France: nothing less than the occupation of Tafilelt, as compensation for any advantages England may obtain, either in the shape of railway concessions, or other tangible evidences of preponderating influence.

Mere newspaper bluster, if not backed up by strong national feeling, may be disregarded. Fortunately, moreover, the Waldeck Rousseau Cabinet has hitherto shown so much tact and good sense, that a policy of adventure on such insufficient ground as the confidence of the Sultan of Morocco in his English advisers, seems scarcely to be expected. Still, there are the approaching elections in France, after which Lord Salisbury, or his successor, may have to face a Government less to be depended upon to take a dispassionate view of the situation; for, of course, the mere idea of a war between France and England because Morocco favours one Power more than another is a

monstrous supposition, since all Morocco, or even ten times all Morocco, would not compensate even the victor in such an insane struggle for the tremendous losses entailed by a war between these two great Powers. Yet—and this is the never-to-be-forgotten point—nations are too apt to lose their head and be carried away by purely sentimental grievances; and it must be remembered that the scheme of a French united North African Empire, stretching from the confines of Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and rounded off to the south-west by the French possessions of Senegal, to which France is persistently devoting the most strenuous efforts, is a Gallic ideal which dominates all Frenchmen with an intensity quite equal to the counter-balancing English conception of an uninterrupted right of way for England from Alexandria to Cape Town.

There is no use in shutting one's eyes to our neighbour's point of view. The intelligent statesman will, indeed, be careful to avoid so glaring a fault. It is to be hoped, therefore, that those who direct the policy of England where Morocco is concerned, may remember that the attempt to launch the latter country successfully upon the road to reform without providing against an open or masked attack by France, her nearest and most powerful neighbour, would be to act with little less than criminal cruelty towards Morocco, since the Sultan, left to himself, would be powerless to repel French aggression, in spite of the force of Moorish troops supposed to be so carefully drilled by Kaid Maclean.

This threat of the French occupation of Tafilelt could be but too easily realized, especially when the railway, for which even now material is being hurried forward, shall have been completed to Figuig. Moreover, such an occupation once effected, might of itself and alone prove fatal to the Filali dynasty in Morocco; for it is from Tafilelt that the ancestors of Abd-el-Aziz issued forth to conquer the kingdoms of Fez, of Morocco, of Sus, and of Draa, all of which provinces are now incorporated in the *Aiyala*

*Sherefia*, as the Sultanate of Morocco is termed by its inhabitants.

Besides, it must always be borne in mind that pretenders and aspirants for the throne are not to be sought for. Harmless they may be at present, for lack of arms and means, but these are deficiencies which could be easily supplied by France, had she any interest in rallying to the support of some nominee of her own : the mountain-tribes of non-Arab descent, the Riffs, and other branches of the Berber or Sehlha races, tribes only too disposed to revolt against any established authority, as they have been from the time of the Roman, Gothic, or Byzantine occupations down to the present day.

It would be well, therefore, for the friends of the young Sultan to be careful, lest, whilst they are teaching him to play tennis and golf, how to take snapshots and to develop negatives, or how to drive his motor-car or sit his bicycle, that he does not fall from his throne—the throne of his Filali ancestors—which has been from time immemorial the richly-caparisoned, high-peaked Moorish saddle ; for from the moral effects of such a fall from the seat of power all the king's men might not be able to set the Sultan up again !

Sir Arthur Nicolson arrived off Rabat, January 21, on board H.B.M. battleship *Illustrious*. The reception of the British Minister on landing—one might almost say his triumphal entry—escorted by his own suite on horseback, and attended by El Meniebhi and the other Vizirs and Court officials, was of the most cordial character. The entire force of Moorish regulars now with the Sultan at Rabat—some 6,000 men—all from the country immediately about Morocco city, arrayed in their new uniforms, being under arms to receive the Minister ; whilst the Sultan's household cavalry, in their flowing garb of many colours, executed the usual *laab-el-barud*, or powder play, as they preceded the escort.

One memorable departure from established custom

occurred subsequently, when the Sultan received his distinguished guests at the palace, instead of sallying forth on horseback surrounded by his troops, and with the red umbrella held above his head by his attendant slaves, a custom which will probably never again be resuscitated, as it implied the humiliating feature for the foreign envoys of standing bare-headed before the Sultan whilst their interpreter translated their address to the monarch of the faithful.

The Shereefian Court is to be congratulated upon this more correct sense of proportion and upon this more reasonable appreciation of the manner in which the representatives of the European Governments should be received by the Sovereign of a country which, despite its extent of territory and the individual valour of its inhabitants, cannot be compared as a military power with even the smallest of its European neighbours. The traveller—and especially the artist—will, however, regret the final elimination of so striking and characteristic a custom.

A week later the same ceremonies were repeated on the arrival of Count Crennville, the first Austrian Minister who has presented his credentials in person to the Sultan. Beyond the exchange of courtesies, including the presentation of gifts, this visit was merely one of ceremony, and not for the purpose of any serious diplomatic negotiations. Tangier, however, has good cause to congratulate itself, since Count Crennville had very graciously undertaken to solicit the Sultan's approval of a series of regulations affecting Tangier municipal interests, together with a scheme for the erection of a much-needed additional market, whilst the French Minister, animated by a similar desire to improve the condition of the diplomatic capital of the country to which he is accredited, had promised the Commission charged with the preparation of these matters his support in securing some addition to the very limited means at the disposition of what is somewhat inaptly styled the Tangier Hygienic Commission, better and more cor-

rectly known to the native officials as the "Street-sweeping Commission," an elective body of townsfolk and foreign residents, chiefly dependent upon voluntary subscriptions.

This effort to improve the lamentable condition of the streets of Tangier has not always met with the official recognition and support which the voluntary assumption of such unpleasant duties might have been thought to merit. Fortunately, of late the representatives of the greater Powers have, without exception, taken a much warmer interest in securing the necessary means and authority for so laudable an enterprise.

Owing to the rapid increase of the population, both native and foreign, the necessity for some more effective municipal administration is becoming every day more imperative.

As the reader may be aware, the duties of the scavenger in Mohammedan countries are generally left to the pariah dog or to the bird of prey, both of which have been driven further afield by the influx of Europeans, who do not share the natives' respect and esteem either for the packs of mongrel curs who used to infest the streets, or for the carrion birds, since the first brought the pedestrian into eminent danger of hydrophobia, cases of which have been only too frequent, whilst the birds offered too tempting a mark for the gun of the juvenile sportsman.

With the attempt to remove the dust-heaps from the streets of the town came also the necessity for some form, however mild, of police control ; moreover, with the increase of foreigners and tourists, all of them ready for a mad gallop at a moment's notice, often with less regard for the safety of people on foot than even the wild nomad of the desert might be expected to display, attention was called to the absolute necessity for enforcing some rule of the road. Here, however, a serious difficulty arose, since the native guards dare not arrest or interfere with foreigners unless when fortified by a specific order from the consulates of the nationality of the offender. It will be readily under-

stood how impracticable, not to say impossible, is the application of police regulations by agents subject to such a complex system of checks, and exposed to such dangerous demands, implying the punishment of the native agent or guard in case he arrests even the native servant of a European or other non-native resident, without being previously supplied with the requisite order.

The remedy for this administrative chaos would be simple enough could the representatives of the Powers unanimously agree to allow the native agents of the Hygienic Commission, acting under the direction and control of a properly qualified European police officer, to enforce the regulations which have already been submitted to, and approved, both by the foreign Ministers and by the local or native authority itself.

Unfortunately one or two of the local representatives of the less important Powers, *plus royalist que le roy*, cannot see their way to authorize anyone, not immediately or directly under their own control, even to arrest and bring before their own consular tribunal offenders against these regulations or other disturbers of peace and order. Yet, singularly enough, these very hyper-scrupulous Ministers employ native guards, soldiers of the Basha, men of the same status as the guards of the Hygienic Commission, to arrest numbers of their (the Ministers in question) own nationality.

The answer made to these suggestions by these representatives is : " But we pay these legation guards ; they are directly and personally responsible to us." This difficulty, however, would seem to be avoided or parried by the fact that the guards of the Street Commission are also paid by the foreign representatives, acting collectively, from the Caisse of the Sanitary Council, so that it might be thought that a solution of the difficulty could be reached.

Indeed, some method of improving order must be discovered, for Tangier to-day is no longer the old somnolent Tangier of earlier days, but is even now beginning to assume

the aspect of an industrial centre, with a population of several thousand foreign operatives and factory hands, amongst them a number of militant anarchists from Barcelona and other Spanish towns. It is especially fortunate, under these circumstances, that the Sultan, in accordance with the advice of his European counsellors, has organized a newly-equipped local force of 500 men at Tangier, and, acting probably under suggestions from the same quarter, Hadj Mohammed el Torres, the Sultan's Delegate Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier, has applied to the Foreign representatives to know, in case of disorders arising from their industrial troubles, whether he is authorized to use force.

The answer was to the effect that, in case of refusal on the part of the rioters to submit to arrest, the Moorish officers and their troops were authorized to employ armed force—in other words, to fire on the rioters. Whether the Moorish officers, even on the strength of such assurances, would take the risk of resorting to such extreme measures, or whether their men would, on receiving the order, fire on Europeans, remains to be seen.

In the meantime the various legations continued their movement towards Rabat, whither the German Minister, Baron Von Mentzingen, proceeded on board the North German Lloyd passenger steamer *Wittekind* in order to confer upon the Sultan the Order of the Red Eagle.

Of all these Embassies, the French, which was the last to leave Tangier, was, perhaps, the only one likely to cause the Shereefian Government any anxiety.

That France will not lack a pretext for breaking with Morocco, should she at any time desire it, is apparent from the assassination of two officers of the French Foreign Legion, near the town of Duveyrier, in Southern Algeria, Captain Gratian and Captain Cressin, alleged to have been killed by men of the Beni S'mir, a Moorish Kabyle, an incident reported from Oran, January 21, only a few days before the French Minister, Mons. Saint Reni de Taillander, embarked upon the battleship *Le Charlemagne* for Rabat.

The most important issue which the Minister will probably be empowered to discuss with the Sultan will relate to the strategic railway or railways along the Algerian-Moorish frontier, of which the town of Figuig is the immediate objective. It will be remembered that this is a Moorish town, under the Sultan's jurisdiction, and that a line from Oujdah to Figuig, would run almost its entire course on Moorish territory ; and Oujdah commands the approach to Fez, whilst Figuig covers Tafilelt. However amicably and gently any approach of the French lines, for which material is being already sent forward, may be suggested, the keenest susceptibility will doubtless be aroused.

It will be some time before the result of this series of missions to the Sultan will become apparent. Undoubtedly the attention of the various chancelleries is awakened, and even incidents far removed from Morocco and its immediate neighbours—such, for instance, as the Anglo-Japanese Treaty—may exercise some counter effect on Moorish affairs, since it will certainly tend towards some more or less successful effort on the part of Russia and France to score, if possible, in Persia and Morocco, as some offset, or compensation, for the advantage achieved by England in the " Far East."

Should Spain not go to pieces altogether economically, owing to industrial and political risings, an attempt will certainly be made to induce that Power to join the Franco-Russo alliance, especially should the Sagasta Cabinet go out. To this end Silvela, who aspires to the succession of the late Conservative chief, Canovas del Castillo, published an unsigned article in one of the leading reviews of Madrid, which attracted much attention at the moment, and which has been followed lately by an article in *La Revista de Aragon* of January, by Julian Ribera, another parliamentary notability, both urgently advocating an alliance with France, eminently suggestive of a joint attack upon Gibraltar, and compensation in Morocco for English successes elsewhere.



## THE PRINCE OF WALES PROFESSORSHIP OF HISTORY AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE.

BY PROFESSOR H. E. S. FREMANTLE, M.A.

SEVERAL causes contribute to render the proposal to establish a Professorship of History at the South African College interesting to thoughtful men beyond the limits of Cape Colony and even of South Africa. In the first place, it is surely a matter of interest to find that South Africa is in a condition to need such a professorship, and that in such a country a young nation is springing up which has already advanced so far in the path of national development as to feel the need of further advance in the way proposed. Nor can it be without interest to those who watch the progress of events in South Africa with an eye to the future to know that it is possible at the present time not only to maintain existing institutions in full working order, but even to make such an effort as the present for this extension. In the second place, men of the greatest prominence at the Cape are supporting the movement, and thereby showing a sense of the importance of education in a practical way, which it would be difficult to induce men in a corresponding position at home to pursue with anything like the same activity or unanimity. In the third place, a proposal which promises to induce the inhabitants of the whole of South Africa to study history deals with men on so great a scale as to appeal to the imagination and expand our conceptions beyond the ordinary range. The special interest of South African history, and the importance of establishing a genuine school for its study must be obvious to all. And, finally, all these reasons have been endorsed and strengthened by the patronage which the Prince of Wales has given to the scheme, adding to it, with that discrimination and tact which is the property of the Royal Family, the dignity which belongs to an Imperial enterprise.

As a college doing university work, the South African College stands at the highest point of the educational system of South Africa, nor can the one be properly understood without understanding the other. In Cape Colony and Natal the ideal of a complete scheme of national education is being progressively realized under the powerful direction of the Superintendents General of Education, Dr. Muir and Mr. Russell. It is such a scheme as that which has already been long at work in Scotland with beneficial results which are beyond dispute, or as that which has more recently been introduced into Wales as the result of a genuine national movement in favour of education ; and we may notice, in passing, the closeness of the parallel which might be drawn between the special problems of Wales and of South Africa. The ideal is to place sound elementary education within reach of all the inhabitants of the country, to establish higher schools at the great centres, to provide for the highest university education of which the country is capable, and, finally, to establish a ladder of scholarships and bursaries by which every student who is able to survive at the greater altitude may climb to the highest grade of education. This is not the place to attempt an appreciation of the success which has hitherto attended the efforts to construct a perfect scheme of national education in South Africa ; it is enough to say that this ideal not only exists in many minds, but may already be said to have been realized in outline. The special point which we desire to emphasize here is that in South Africa, far more even than in Scotland or in Wales, the higher education ceases to be merely local, and the best schools and colleges of South Africa attract students from all parts of the country, as the great Public Schools or the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge do in the United Kingdom, and as the University of Paris does in France. No one can advance a step in the direction of understanding South African affairs until he has mastered the cardinal fact that, whatever its political divisions, South Africa is socially and

essentially one country. In no point does this unity more clearly manifest itself than in higher education, and in no educational institution more clearly than in the South African College. The University, which calls itself the University of the Cape of Good Hope, holds its examinations in defiance of war and rumours of war in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, as well as in the older Colonies and Rhodesia. The Boer prisoners in South Africa and at St. Helena have already been admitted, on their own application, to the examinations of the University, and those at Bermuda have just made a similar application to the University Council. In such schools as those attached to the South African College, and Victoria College, Stellenbosch, St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, boys from all parts of South Africa are to be found, just as Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen may be found in the same remove at Eton; and naturally this educational federation of South Africa shows itself even more plainly in the case of the Colleges than in that of the Schools. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the university work of the whole of South Africa is done in or near Cape Town, and the importance of maintaining this condition of things may perhaps be inferred by those to whom it is not immediately patent from the efforts which President Kruger himself made to disturb it. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

The South African College has a remarkable position in the history and in the present structure of South African education. It is the oldest educational institution in the country, having been founded in 1829; its growth has exactly corresponded to that of the educational system as a whole. Beginning as a school, it has developed into a genuine university college as such an institution has been required, and having been founded by the united efforts of all sections of the population ten years before the existence of any South African State except Cape Colony, it represents by its living traditions a golden age such as the uncritical

always place in the past and the critical in the future, the age of happy co-operation between English and Dutch, and of the undisputed union of South Africa.

It was not until 1858 that a Board of Public Examiners granting certificates was instituted, and it was not until 1873 that this developed into the University of the Cape of Good Hope, conducting school and university examinations and conferring degrees. The South African College has naturally, therefore, maintained from the first a strong influence over the University. The new offices of the University will almost adjoin the buildings of the College, and apart from the special functions which the College has to perform as a college—that is, as offering the means of the highest education, and so standing in the highest grade of the scheme of national education—it naturally exercises, through the University, an influence over the whole system of which it is itself a part.

The College has greatly developed of late years, and even during the course of the war. In 1900 it finally got rid of the last trace of its origin as a school by handing over the class studying for the matriculation examination at the University to the School which is attached to it. In this it has been followed by the Victoria College, Stellenbosch. The two Colleges have thus definitely taken their places as University Colleges. The position which the two taken together at present occupy may perhaps be gauged by the fact that in the list of honours gained at the last B.A. examination exactly five-sixths of the places—fifteen out of eighteen, leaving out of account the successes gained by the excellent Women's College at Wellington, which of course stands on somewhat different ground—were occupied by students of one or other of the two Colleges; and the position of the South African College by the fact that two-thirds of these (ten out of fifteen, including the first of the year both in literature and in science) were South African College students; and the further fact that in the eighteen years during which the

University has held honours examinations for the B.A. degree in literature and science, the first place in each department has thirteen times fallen to a student of the College.

We have now attempted to determine the position which the South African College occupies in the system of the national education of South Africa. We shall next endeavour to indicate the extent and nature of the work which, as occupying this position, it is called upon to do for the country. Of the extent of this work we can form some estimate by a merely mechanical reference to the numbers of its students. During the last session there were 236 students at the College. As the white population of South Africa, including Boer and Colonial belligerents and deported prisoners of war, is probably less than 800,000, it follows that about 1 in 3,000 is a student at the College. Reckoning thirty years for a generation—probably forty would be an under-estimate—it follows that about 1 in every 100 of the inhabitants of South Africa is a present or past student at the College. It is difficult to compare this with the position of universities at home. It is important to notice that there are in the United Kingdom two grades of universities; on the one hand, those which, like the Scotch, Welsh, and provincial universities, do the general work of university education for all classes of the community, and are accordingly more or less local in their operation; and on the other hand, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which do the university work for the social and intellectual aristocracy of the whole kingdom. It is important to notice this for two reasons, the first and greater of which is only indirectly connected with the immediate question. It is the need, and the possibility arising from a general sense of the need, of the older universities rising to their position as educators of the real aristocracy of the whole Empire, and acting, if we may use the expression, as universities of appeal not only for the three kingdoms, but also for the great colonies. The other reason is that the South African College cannot

exactly be compared either with such universities as the University of Edinburgh or with such universities as the University of Oxford. Allowing for this, we may find the following statistics not uninteresting. The numbers of the students at Edinburgh, which, as a matter of fact, if only because of its Medical School, is much more than a merely Scotch University, stand to the numbers of the population of Scotland in almost exactly the same proportion as the numbers of South African College students to those of the population of Cape Colony, which is something over half the total population of South Africa. On the other hand, whereas more than one in every hundred of the inhabitants of South Africa is a past or present student of the South African College, less than one in three hundred of the people of England are similarly related to the University of Oxford, and a good deal less than one in three hundred and seventy of the total population of the United Kingdom. The South African College is thus by far more widely reaching in South Africa than the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (which is about a seventh smaller than Oxford) taken together in the United Kingdom, though it is less widely reaching in South Africa as a whole than the University of Edinburgh (the greatest of the Scotch universities) in Scotland alone.

The position of the College in South Africa will, however, be better understood by examining more in detail its relation to the several South African professions which its students may be expected to enter. It may be said at once that it stands in a satisfactory position as regards the professions of law and politics, the scientific professions, such as that of surveyors and mining engineers, and the medical profession, though at present it does not attempt to give more than the preliminary training for the latter. In training men for these four professions alone the College has obviously a work of vast importance to perform. To show how great is its eventual influence on South Africa, it will be enough to mention the names of four of its old students—the Hon. T. L. Graham, Attorney-General in the present

Ministry ; the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, late Prime Minister ; the Hon. J. W. Sauer, Commissioner of Public Works in Mr. Schreiner's late Ministry ; and the Right Hon. Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of Cape Colony.

The College stands in a less satisfactory relation to the professions of the Christian ministry, of teaching, of the Civil Service, of commerce, and of farming. The great majority of ministers in the English denominations are educated in England, and the Dutch minister seldom completes his University education. With regard to teachers, it is no discredit to the College to say that it is not at present able to compete with European universities in the training of university professors ; on the other hand, the profession of school-teaching in South Africa offers at present few positions to attract University graduates. The case of the Civil Service is different. It is no secret that the Civil Service needs the best ability which the country can produce, and that it gets at the present time nothing like the best. It is to be hoped that the politicians and educationists of South Africa may combine to suggest and institute reforms which will give the country a Civil Service adequate to its duties, such as the South African College is in an eminent degree able to supply. Nor are there many questions which more intimately affect both the welfare of South Africa and the well-being of the home universities. I cannot too urgently press it upon the attention of educated men in all parts of the Empire. As regards commerce, much remains to be done. It will be an advantage both to the commercial and to the academical world of South Africa when the co-operation between them is closer than it is at present. At present the commercial men, like the ministers of the Christian religion, are usually content with a half-education. Perhaps, too, the education at present offered is not altogether suitable to commercial men. The same is true, in an even greater degree, of the farmers. In all these professions exceptional men are to be found with a college education, but much yet remains to be done to adjust

the relation between these professions and the College, and to put the latter into its proper position as a training school for them.

It remains to be shown how the South African College is being enabled to carry out the duties which we have sketched. It is to be noted that its position in the Gardens at Cape Town is particularly advantageous. It has all the advantages, and as few as possible of the disadvantages, of town life. It has a considerable cricket-field, besides tennis-courts on its own grounds, and at the same time it is close to Government House, the Parliament buildings, the Law Courts, the Public Offices, and also to the Libraries, the Art Gallery, the Museum, and the Botanical Gardens. One advantage of this is that Professors at the College are able to carry on original investigations with the greatest facility possible in South Africa; another, following from the first, is that it is possible to combine some public scientific office with a professorship at the College. This was done some years ago in connection with the establishment of a Professorship of Botany, which has unfortunately been allowed to lapse, and which an effort is now being made to re-establish. A similar arrangement, in 1895, made it possible to successfully establish a Professorship of Geology, the holder of which is head of the Geological Survey. From this double office much has already been gained, and much more is to be expected in the future.

The College has many needs which must be fulfilled before there is any institution in South Africa capable of doing the work of University education satisfactorily. Omitting everything but bare necessities, at least six professorships are still needed. The professorships of English and Philosophy and of Modern Languages should be divided; the existing professorships of Law should be properly endowed and regulated, and professorships of Botany, Zoology and History should be established. The Cape Government already contributes liberally to Professors' salaries; nor is it easy to imagine a more desirable



form in which a rich man could secure himself immortality than by offering the £8,000 or £10,000 which would be sufficient, with the co-operation of the Government, to establish any one of these chairs.

None of them is it more important to create than the Professorship of History, nor is it possible to conceive a time when it would be more desirable to create it than the present. A Professor of Philosophy or of Languages may, no doubt, exercise a political influence by his lectures and writings, but a Professor of History alone is definitely called upon to do so, and his influence will be one which it would be most desirable to have exerted as soon as possible, and by all means before the people of South Africa begin to settle down after the close of the present war. This is felt, and has been openly expressed, by all the responsible statesmen, by the chief educationists, and by the general public at the Cape. Their judgment has been approved by the Prince of Wales, looking from the commanding standpoint which he has learnt to adorn, and by such men as Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Lecky. It will not, therefore, be necessary to repeat what the present writer has already said elsewhere with regard to the scientific, the educational, and the political advantages to be expected from the institution of the professorship. He may, however, be allowed to call attention to two special points. In the first place, it is already well known that there is much to do with regard to the collection and co-ordination of facts bearing on the various native questions in South Africa. But it is not so well known that there now exists at the Cape an office specially dealing with native affairs, controlled by the Prime Minister of the Colony. Nor is it generally known that the late Sir Bartle Frere sketched out a system for the careful and exact study of native affairs throughout the country, emphasizing the scientific and political importance of the questions involved. In the second place, it can hardly be altogether realized in England how greatly certain ideals, such as that of Republicanism, have

influenced the minds of people in South Africa. Whether we are Republicans or not, we can hardly fail to realize that a popular Republicanism founded on ignorance both of South Africa and of general history is likely to be a rickety and ruinous structure which no nation can inhabit with security.

In conclusion, it remains to say something of the prospects of the Endowment Fund, and of the probability of obtaining a suitable occupant of the proposed professorship. It is satisfactory to find that, with few exceptions, the great commercial firms connected with South Africa have realized the importance of the present proposal. At least £7,500 is required to establish the professorship at all. It could be established and the first Professor appointed within a few months of the time when this sum should be obtained. Over £1,800 has already been contributed in London alone, and subscriptions have not yet been invited at all elsewhere. Judging from the temper evinced by the press at the Cape, it may be hoped that the scheme will not be allowed to fail for want of financial support. But it is much to be desired that the success of the project should not be delayed, and as long as the fund is open it will offer an opportunity to all of testifying in a practical way an intelligent interest in the progress and consolidation of the Empire.

As to the prospects of obtaining a suitable man for the post, it is not, of course, as yet possible to speak definitely. We may, however, notice the extremely satisfactory way in which the proposal has been taken up by the academical world, and especially by the historians. Among those who have lent the movement the support of their expressed approval we may notice with special gratification Sir William Anson and Sir Richard Jebb, Members of Parliament for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; Dr. Prothero, President of the Royal Historical Society; Professor York Powell, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford; and Principal Roberts, Vice-Chancellor

of the University of Wales. We may fairly argue that the adhesion of such men as these shows that the academical world is fully sensible of the importance of the proposal. If this is so, we may rest assured that the great advantages and commanding and unequalled opportunities offered to a well-trained student endowed with energy and organizing power will not fail to be recognised and will suffice to attract candidates possessed of the highest capabilities. It is not difficult to be impartial in South Africa, nor need politicians who have confidence in the justice of their cause fear that the professorship will be occupied by a partisan of an opposite cause. It is not to be supposed that a man with so little sympathy with imperialism as to be blinded by a prejudice in favour of the Empire's antagonists will wish to expatriate himself from England, nor will any man be willing to devote his life to the study of South African history who has not enough sympathy with the Boers to do them justice. If an able man with neither of the above disqualifications takes up the work of the new professorship Wisdom will be justified of one more of her children ; and if rich men assist in creating such opportunities for such a man they will not easily find another investment of which they will have greater reason to be proud.

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NOTE.—Subscriptions for the South African College Professorship of History Fund are received and acknowledged by the Standard Bank, 10, Clement's Lane, Lombard Street, London, E.C. Cheques should be made out to "The Standard Bank of South Africa, for the South African College Professorship of History Fund."—ED.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS—ASSYRIOLOGY.

WE shall note, at the outset, the "Actes du premier Congrès international d'histoire des religions, Paris, 1900," the first part of which (the report of general meetings) has only appeared.\* This very interesting volume contains the *procès-verbaux* of the sittings, discussions, and papers read at the general meetings. The most important of these papers are the following: "Buddhism and Yoga," by Senart; "Biblical Criticism and the History of Religions," by A. Sabatier; "Islamism and Parsiism," by Goldziher; "The Historical Relation between Religion and Morality," by Goblet d'Alviella; "The Present State of Instruction in the History of Religions," by Jean Réville; "An Historical Sketch of the Congress of Religions at Chicago in 1893," by C. Carroll Bonney.

Since our last Report, there has appeared the continuation of the "History of Religions in Ancient Times,"† by the lamented Tiele, whose recent demise has plunged into grief all who knew the eminent professor. The volume treats of Mazdeism and the Avesta.

Under the title of "Die geistige Kultur der semitischen Völker,"‡ J. Köberle has published an interesting and judicious lecture on the nature of the civilization and spiritual development of Semitic peoples, more particularly the Arabs. The author lays stress, and rightly, on Semitic individualism. In their language, their conception of nature, their style of expressing and solving the problems of a moral and spiritual order, the Semites have the tendency to assign everything to *self*. The Semites have the gift of observing details, but they lack that of synthesis and generalization. The author, after sketching a bright picture of the civilization of the Arabs in the Middle Ages, concludes by saying that, notwithstanding this glory of former times, humanity owes more in a spiritual sense to the humble Israelite than to the great Arab race, whose civilization disappeared as rapidly as it appeared with so much ostentation.

On the subject of Assyriology we may first mention the publication of a new fascicule of the Assyrian-English-German Dictionary, by Muss-Arnolt,§ it is a long time since we had occasion to refer to it.

The "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," published by Schrader, has been enriched by two new and important parts, which complete the sixth volume—"Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," of Jensen.||

\* Paris, Leroux, 1901.

† "Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid tot op Alexander den Groot," vol. ii., part ii., Amsterdam, van Kampen, 1901.

‡ Leipzig, Deichert, 1901.

§ 11th Lieferung, Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1901.

|| Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1901.

THE OLD TESTAMENT—HEBRAIC AND ARAMEAN LANGUAGES—  
TALMUD.

Under the title of "Hebraisches Vokabular,"\* Kraetzschmar has published for the use of students an excellent alphabetical index (Hebrew-German) of the roots and words of the Old Testament. This work, which is very clear and compact, is well executed. Words and roots are arranged in the logical style of grammar: pronouns, nouns with unchangeable vowels, hard trilateral verbs, guttural verbs, ך ם verbs, etc., masculine nouns with changeable vowels on the penultimate, etc., feminine nouns, with changeable vowels on the penultimate, etc., irregular nouns (called primitive), nouns of number, and particles. The work, which is a very practical one, deserves to be recommended.

We note a third edition, revised, of the biblical Aramean grammar, by Strack,† which we noticed when it first appeared.

Bacher has published a curious Hebrew-Persian dictionary of the fourteenth century,‡ the vocabulary of which is taken from the Bible, Targum, Talmud and Midrash. The author who spoke a Jewish-Persian jargon, has made use of Persian and Aramean, and sometimes of Arabic and Turkish for his explanations of Hebrew and Aramean terms.

My trip to Morocco prevented my calling attention to two publications of very great value, both published in England.

The first, edited by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby is entitled: "The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, arranged in its constituent documents."§ The aim of the work is to introduce to the English public the principal results of modern criticism on the Pentateuch and Joshua. The first volume treats of the construction of the Hexateuch, the second contains the text with notes. It is a very remarkable work.

The second is "An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek" by H. Barclay Swete.|| For a long time the publication of a complete and scientific treatise on the Version of the Septuagint has been a desideratum. The work of Swete rewards the patience of scholars. It is divided into three parts: (1) the history of the Greek Old Testament, and of its transmission (the Alexandrian Greek Version, later Greek Versions, the Hexapla, ancient versions based upon the Septuagint, manuscripts and printed texts of the Septuagint); (2) the contents of the Alexandrian Old Testament; (3) literary use, value, and textual condition of the Greek Old Testament (Appendix: the letter of Pseudo Aristeas). The version of the Septuagint is of great utility for the study of the Old Testament, and for the reconstruction of the Hebrew text, so often obscure and mutilated. As Swete so well puts it, "as the oldest version of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint claims special attention from Old Testament scholars. It represents a text, and to some extent, an interpretation earlier than any which can be obtained

\* Tübingen und Leipzig, Mohr, 1902.

† "Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901.

‡ Strassburg, Trübner, 1900.

§ Two vols. gr. in 8vo., London, Longmans, 1900.

|| Cambridge, University Press, 1900.

from other sources. It is the business of the textual critic to get behind the official text, and to recover so far as he can the various recensions, which it has displaced. In this work, he is aided by ancient versions, but especially by the Septuagint. Of the versions, the Septuagint alone is actually earlier than the fixing of the Hebrew text. In point of age, indeed, it must yield to the Samaritan Pentateuch, the archetype of which may have been in the hands of the Samaritans in the days of Nehemiah, but the polemical bias of that people, and the relatively late date of the MSS. on which the printed text depends, detract largely from the value of its evidence, which is moreover limited to the Torah."

In the "*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*" (Part 2, 1902), Kahle has published an interesting article on the new system of Hebraic punctuation, preserved in fragments of manuscripts brought from Cairo to Cambridge. Consequently there are three different systems known and employed by the Rabbis in writing the "vowel-points."

We have to notice several commentaries on the Old Testament: Exodus-Leviticus by Baentsch\* (*Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, by Nowack); Leviticus by Bertholet,† and Chronicles by Bengizer‡ (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, by Marti).

Karl Kautzsch, son of the celebrated theologian, has published an interesting study on chapters i., ii., xlii. 7-17 of the book of Job, that is to say on the prologue and epilogue of this most remarkable book of the Old Testament.§ He therein disputes the recent hypothesis of Budde and Duhm, according to which the prologue and epilogue of Job had formed an account of the story of Job previous to the exile. I myself have supported this same hypothesis, in 1886, during my course of lectures at the Geneva University. Kautzsch endeavours to show that the prologue and epilogue are inseparable from the book of Job, and that, like this last, they are subsequent to the exile. The discussion of this opinion would be too long.

To the *Doyen* Bruston of the Faculty of Theology at Montauban is due the publication of a study of critical exegesis of much value on the Songs of Debora.|| The author, whose works of exegesis, so conscientiously and so accurately made, deserve much appreciation, arrives at the following conclusion: "That the text of this song of victory is less corrupted than one would expect, taking its antiquity into account and the numerous obscurities it presents. Some additions and some errors of transcription are all that can be found. The division and the masoretic vocalization, however, are very defective in several places."

The "*Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*," by Hamburger, has been enriched by the addition of two new supplements (*Abteilung III., Supplements V. und VI.: Schlussheft*)¶. These two last parts, which include numerous interesting articles, are the best of this authoritative work,

\* Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

† Tübingen und Leipzig, Siebeck, 1901.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "*Das Volksbuch von Hiob und der Ursprung von Hiob*," chaps. i., ii., xlii. 7-17, Tübingen, Mohr, 1900.

|| Montauban, Laforgue, 1901.

¶ Leipzig, Koehler, 1900-1901.

which forms a genuine encyclopædia of Judaism from the earliest times to the present day.

#### ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Brockelmann, the author of the history of Arabic literature, of which we gave an account some considerable time ago, and of which the third part (the decay of Musulman literature)\* appeared in 1899, but remained unfinished, has just published a new work on the same subject. This work forms a portion of the collection entitled "Die Litteraturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen" (Band vi.).† In the same volume is to be found the history of Persian literature by Horn, and the history of Arabic literature, from their origin up to the time of Brockelmann. It is scarcely necessary to add that these two works are very brief.

In the "Beiträge zur geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters"‡ Worms has published a short but very interesting study on the doctrine of the eternity (the non-commencement) of the world amongst the Arabian philosophers of the Middle Ages, and the controversies which this doctrine gave birth to among the Musulman theologians.

Derenbourg has devoted a remarkable article in the *Journal des Savants* to a description and a list of the Arabic manuscripts in the Schefer Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale.§ This collection, which consists of no less than 275 manuscripts, is a very important one, and Derenbourg, in bringing it to the notice of scholars, makes use of his great experience and profound learning in rendering a real service to Arabists.

Under the title of "Palästinicher Diwan"|| Dalman has collected the popular songs of Palestine, with their translation and music, on the very varied subjects in connection with the present Musulman life of that country. The love songs which he transcribes are of particular interest and of a nature to throw some light on the Song of Songs.

The "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins" (vol. xxiv., parts ii. and iii., 1902) gives us two interesting studies on Palestine. The first by M. Hartmann on Arabic inscriptions at Salamja, the second by Christie on the dialects of the people of Central Galilee.

Before concluding, we wish to draw attention to two valuable publications by Doutté, the young Arabist of merit, of whom we expect much in the future. One is on "Les Minarets et l'appel à la prière,"¶ the other, noticed at the time in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, has for its subject "Les marabouts dans l'Islam magribin,"\*\* which deserves to be recommended on account of its completeness and scientific character.

\* Berlin, Felber, 1899.

† Leipzig, Amelang, 1901.

‡ Texte und Untersuchungen herausg. von C. Baeumker und G. von Hertling, Munster, Aschendorff, 1900.

§ Paris, imprimerie nationale, 1901 (tirage à part).

|| Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1901.

¶ Algiers, Jourdan, 1900.

\*\* Paris, Leroux, 1900.

## THE AGE OF MÁNIKKA VÁÇAGAR.

BY L. C. INNES.

THE determination by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai of the age of the great Saiva saint and sage Jnána Sambandhar was a long step towards the elucidation of South Indian history, literary and religious. Very considerable divergence of opinion still exists as to the age of Mánikka Váçagar, another great Saiva saint, some holding that his period was that of the ninth or tenth century of the Christian Era, and others that he flourished in the first or second century. The subject has been very diligently discussed in a little book by Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai, B.A., entitled "The Age of Mánikka Váçagar." He arrives at the conclusion entertained by those who would throw back the date to the first or second century A.D. I propose to show that this conclusion involves great difficulties, and that this Saiva saint and sage in all probability lived towards the end of the ninth, but not later than the first half of the tenth, century.

Dr. Pope himself has hesitated as to the period of Mánikka Váçagar. In p. xvii of the introduction to his learned edition of the Tiruváçagam he has given it as the seventh or eighth century of our era. In a note to p. xviii the period given is stated to be probably 200 years before 1030 A.D., the time of Sundara Pandáram—*i.e.*, 830 A.D.—and on p. lxxv as the tenth century or earlier—*i.e.*, in or prior to the period 901 to 1000 A.D. The close also of Mr. Sundaram's "Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature" leaves the question in very great doubt,\* while the essay of Mr. Seshagiri Sástriyár, Professor of Sanscrit at the Presidency College, Madras, on Tamil literature, has thrown doubt on the period of the last Madura Tamil Academy, on which, be it observed, the period to be

\* See Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu's book, p. i, Introduction.



assigned to Mánikka Vāṇagar is thought to some extent to depend.

There being, therefore, no authoritative determination as to the exact period at which the sage lived, I hope it will not be deemed presumption on my part if I discuss the subject, and endeavour to elucidate it.

It will conduce to clearness if I approach the question by first considering the evidence as to the periods at which some other celebrated Tamil writers lived, and that at which the Tamil Academy flourished.

Considerable difference of opinion at one time existed as to the age of Jnána Sambandhar. Dr. Pope, influenced perhaps by the opinion once expressed by Dr. Caldwell, has placed him subsequent to Mánikka Vāṇagar, in about the year 1000 A.D. Since the appearance, however, of the essay of the late lamented Mr. Sundaram Pillai already referred to, a general agreement appears to have been arrived at as to the approximate period at which he lived. This period is placed at about the seventh century A.D. He is known to have flourished in the time of King Narsimha Varman Pallava, whose date is given in Duff's "Indian Chronology" as 642 A.D. Jnána Sambandhar was a contemporary of a general of King Narsimha Varman Pallava, by name Siruttondán, who defeated Pulikéśan II., a western Chálukya King, and destroyed his capital, Vatápi (Badámi, Bombay Presidency).

Now, Pulikéśan began to reign in Saka 532, corresponding with 610 A.D.\* This date is well ascertained from ancient inscriptions. 642 A.D. is probably not far from the limit of Narsimha Varman Pallava's reign, as his son and successor was Mahéndra Varman II., and he was succeeded about 660 by his son Paramésvara Varman.† So from the commencement to the middle of the seventh century would probably be about the period at which Jnána Sambandhar flourished.

\* See Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu's work, pp. 47, 48, and Duff's "Indian Chronology," Dynastic Lists, p. 278.

† Duff's "Indian Chronology," pp. 52, 55.

He and two other well-known and venerated persons, Tirunāvukkaraiyar (otherwise called Appár) and Sundara Múrti Náyanár, compiled the Deváram, a collection of Tamil hymns.

An inscription of the time of Rája Rája Déva Chóla, Emperor (984 A.D.), shows that at that time the three compilers of the Deváram had come to be regarded as objects of worship. Dr. Caldwell's view before the discovery of this inscription was that the Deváram, and consequently the age of Jnána Sambandhar, should be brought down to the thirteenth century; but not only is this opinion thus shown to be untenable, but the age of Jnána Sambandhar, as is now generally accepted, may be thrown back with tolerable certainty, on the grounds mentioned, to the seventh century A.D.

The great Vaishnava reformer Rámánuja lived in the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century. He was persecuted by a Chola Prince named Karikála,\* and fled from his persecutions to the court of Biṭṭi Déva, the Bellála King of Dorasamudra (Dwárasamudra), whom he converted from the Jaina to the Vaishnava faith. The King on his conversion took the name of Vishnu Vardhana,† and this event has always been placed in the beginning of the twelfth century. Rice in his "Mysore Inscriptions" places it at 1117 A.D.‡

Now, Kambar, the great Tamil poet, in one of his poems§ refers to Rámánuja by name. It was at one time assumed from the memorial verse prefixed to his Rámáyanam, which gives a date corresponding to 886 A.D., that the period of Kambar was much earlier. But since the period of Rámánuja has been placed beyond a doubt, it has become clear that the date given in the memorial verse

\* See as to Karikála Chola Caldwell's "History of Tinnivelly," p. 29. He must have been born before, and reigned in the twelfth century.

† Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 140.

‡ Caldwell's "History of Tinnivelly," p. 30, and Duff's "Indian Chronology," pp. 140, 145.

§ The Sadagópa Antádi. See Caldwell's "History of Tinnivelly," p. 30.

as that of the poem cannot have been written by Kambar himself, but must be an unwarranted addition, and that Kambar must have lived in the early part of the twelfth century. The importance of this will presently appear.

Another period which has been the subject of great discussion is that of the third and last Sangam, or collegiate existence of the Academy of Tamil literature in Madura, at which, as tradition affirms, Tiruvalluvar presented himself with his surpassing work, the *Kuraḷ*, a monument of ethics and diction and exquisite verse. Many learned men would date this Sangam as of the earliest century of the Christian Era, or perhaps the second century. Others would bring it down to the eleventh or twelfth century, while others—and among them Mr. Séshagiri Sāstriyār, in his learned essay already referred to, under pressure, perhaps, of the difficulty of reconciling conflicting views—have gone the length of doubting if there were ever an actually existing academy, or whether its existence were not simply legendary.\* Mr. Séshagiri Sāstriyār has shown a very substantial foundation for his doubts, and certainly no mind with an historical sense can accept the accounts of the first and second Sangams as other than legendary.

Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu, after a considerable discussion on the subject in his little book, “*The Age of Mānikka Vāṇagar*,” arrives at the conclusion that the beginning of the second century A.D., or thereabouts, was the period of the third Sangam.

Assuming that this so-called third academy had a real historical existence, it appears to me, for the reasons I am about to adduce, that a much later date must be assigned to it.

There is a celebrated Tamil poem called the *Silappadhikāram*, or “*The Epic of the Anklet*,” by Iḷangóvadiāl. He was a brother of the Chéra King Senguttavan, at whose court was a poet and critic named Sítalai Sāttanār,

\* Mr. Séshagiri Sāstriyār’s “*Essay on Tamil Literature*,” No. 1, p. 39.

who was a noted member of the so-called third and last Sangam.

This poem, therefore, was of that period, and in it Tiruvalluvar is quoted. This affords confirmation of the tradition that Tiruvalluvar's period was not later than the last Sangam.

Now as to the date of this Sangam. There were, as appears from the Mahawansa, the great chronicle of Ceylon history, two Ceylon Kings of the name of Gajabáhu, one of the date of 1113 A.D. and the other of the date of 1142 A.D.\* Now it is said in the Mahawansa that Gajabáhu (the King of Ceylon who was a contemporary of Senguttavan Chéra, and was present on one occasion at his court, as is mentioned in the Silappadhikáram)† invaded the Chóla Kingdom in revenge for the Chólas having invaded Ceylon. Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu considers that this event must have occurred in the reign of the earlier Gajabáhu (1113 A.D.), as, if we adopt the later date, we should have to place Kambar, the great Tamil epic poet, already referred to, before the period of the last Sangam, whereas he is known to have lived later.‡ He therefore places the Sangam in about the second century.

Mr. Seshagiri Sástriyár had arrived at the same conclusion as Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai, that the period of the Sangam, if it had an actual existence, coincided with the reign of the earlier Gajabáhu, and for this view the following reasons are assigned: Ilangóvadiál, the author of the Silappadhikáram, and Karikála Chóla, and one of the two Kings of Ceylon, named Gajabáhu, were all contemporaries. Mr. Seshagiri Sástriyár assumes, on the authority of the "Madras Archæological Reports," vol. iv., that the first Karikála Chóla preceded Kulatonga Chóla (1064 to 1113)

\* Not 1127 A.D., as stated p. 101 of Tirumalai Kolundu's work. The King of Ceylon in 1127 A.D. was "Jayabáhu." The second Gajabáhu reigned 1142 A.D. See Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 321.

† See p. 100, Tirumalai Kolundu's work.

‡ See p. 101, Tirumalai Kolundu's work.

by many centuries. He could not therefore have lived so late as the later Gajabáhu (1142). There is only one Karikála Chóla, he says, known to Tamil literature, and therefore the King of Ceylon with whom the King of that name was contemporary must be, he considers, the first Gajabáhu of 1113 A.D.

I regret that I cannot follow the argument. It seems to me that the Karikála Chóla of Tamil literature need not have been the earliest Karikála.

Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu appears to have been misled by a consideration of the memorial verse prefixed to Kambar's Rámáyanam, which we have already seen is not genuine, and does not contain an authentic statement of the date of the poem or the age of Kambar.

We seem to be tied down to one of two dates (1113 A.D. or 1142 A.D.) for the invasion of the Ceylon King Gajabáhu. The expedition was to revenge an invasion of Ceylon by the Chólas. In the Dynastic Lists compiled from the Mahawansa we find that from 103 B.C. to 90 B.C. there were Tamil usurpers in Ceylon. But the close of this period is 203 years prior to 1113 A.D. Could the desire for reprisals have continued so long? It seems very improbable that it should. But apart from this there is the further consideration: Could the Chóla kings have invaded Ceylon at this early date? It is scarcely conceivable that they could have undertaken an invasion of Ceylon until they had absorbed the Pándya country. To invade Ceylon they would probably have to pass through the Pándya territory, and they would certainly have to denude their own territory of a vast number of troops, and so lay it open to attack by their powerful Pándya neighbours, who were their inveterate and ever-watchful enemies.

In connection with this question it is necessary to remember that the Ceylon chronicle had no existence before about 460 A.D.,\* so that in its very commencement it

\* The Mahávansa, the earliest chronicle of Ceylon, was commenced by one Mahánáma between 457 and 477 A.D.

records events that took place more than 350 years previously. This early part of the chronicle, therefore, cannot have the same confidence placed in it as that later portion from the point at which it begins to deal with contemporaneous events.

It is not stated in the Mahawansa who the Tamil usurpers were of 200 years before 1113 A.D. It is left uncertain whether they were Chólas. We know from inscriptions of Asoka\* that the Pándya kingdom was in existence 250 years before Christ ; and geographical considerations render it obvious that such an expedition would at that period be more easily effected from the Pándya than from the Chóla dominions. The complete absorption of the Pándya kingdom by the Chólas did not take place till 1064 A.D., but there probably was a previous gradual process of absorption, an intermingling rather than a conquest,† and we find that from 1037 to 1065 A.D. there were usurpers in Ceylon, one of whom in 1052 bore the suspiciously South Indian royal designation of Vikrama Pándu. And though this would at first sight suggest a Pándu and not a Chóla invasion, it is to be borne in mind that the Chóla kings are known to have taken also the designation of Pándu.‡ The second Gajabáhu reigned 1142 A.D.,§ and from 1065, the end of the usurpation period, to 1142, a period of seventy-seven years, is not very long, and the memory of the usurpation might have sufficiently survived to lead to reprisals on the part of the later Gajabáhu. It seems more probable, therefore, that the date of the Gajabáhu to whom the Mahawansa and Silappadhikáram refer as having invaded the Chóla country was 1142 A.D., rather than 1113 A.D., and that the period of the last Sangam, and that of Senguttavan Chera, would be about the close of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, just prior to or coincident with the time of Kambar.

\* See "History of Tinnivelly," p. 12.

† See "History of Tinnivelly," p. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 321.

Now we find that about ten years after the date of Rāmānuja's flight to the court of the King, whom he converted, there was a Chóla King, named Kulatonga Chóla II. (1127), whose father, Kulatonga I.,\* (1064 to 1127) had a general named Karunākara, with the Princely title of Tondaimán. There was also, as we have seen, a Karikála Chóla, from whose persecutions Rāmānuja fled. At the period to which the so-called third Sangam is attributed, whatever it may ultimately prove to have been, there was a poet named Rudran Kannannár, who composed two out of the ten idylls admitted to be contemporaneous with that period. One of the two idylls was addressed to a Karikála Chóla, and the other to a Prince Tondaimán. These poems, it is said, are not of an epic character, and do not treat of the subjects of them as ancient heroes. The poems were contemporary laudations. The epic Silappadhikáram, admittedly contemporaneous with the period of the so-called third Sangam, speaks of Karikála Chóla as of that time. We have, therefore, the curious coincidence that at the time of the so-called third Sangam there were two Princes named Karikála Chóla and Tondaimán to whom poems were addressed, and in the period of Rāmānuja there were also two Princes of these identical names. Does not this suggest that they were respectively the same people, and that the Sangam and the time of Rāmānuja coincided?

Mr. Seshagiri Sástriyár, too, I again observe, says (p. 31, note) that Tamil literature refers to but one Karikála Chóla.

It might also be noticed that the Silappadhikáram, a composition admittedly of the time of the third Sangam, has a reference to the Vanni tree legend of the Saint Jnána Sambandhar. If any weight ought to be given to

\* Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 128. In 1090 A.D., Rájendra Chóla II., son of Western Chalukya Rája rája I., deposes Parakésari Varman, and seizes the Chóla crown, after which he is styled Kulatonga I. And see Duff, p. 139, opposite 1113 A.D. as to the same and his general, Karunākara Tondaimán, also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xix. p. 329, and vol. xx, p. 278.

this circumstance, it would favour my view in bringing down the period of the Sangam later than the time of Jnána Sambandhar. But I prefer to give no weight to it. There is no distinct connection of Jnána Sambandhar with the narrative, and the legend of the Vanni tree may have existed long before, and quite independently of, the saint, as suggested by Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai.\*

We now come to a consideration of the period of Mánikka Vāṇagar. One great difficulty in ascertaining the relative age of Tamil literary productions is said to be that from the earliest ages the Tamil language has undergone scarcely any change. The action of the Academy in scrutinizing and regulating grammatical accuracy and attention to fixed rules, while it may have checked the development of the language, preserved it, it is claimed, from alteration, so that there is not much scope for distinguishing the productions of one age from those of another.† But possibly the explanation of this may be that none of the existing literature is as ancient as has been assumed. Another difficulty is the want of history and of historical‡ landmarks which characterizes all the literary works of Southern India. Occasionally the connection of a writer with some conspicuous public character whose period may be ascertained from an inscription gives a clue to the date at which he wrote, but such signposts are rare. In the case of Mánikka Vāṇagar there is nothing of the kind to guide us. His hymns are generally credited with an age of several centuries, but neither from the language, nor the style, nor from the allusions can we find any certain indications of their position in literary history relatively to other Tamil writings of a respectable antiquity now in existence.

\* Tirumalai Kolundu, p. 33.

† Tirumalai Kolundu, pp. 80, 81, and Dr. Caldwell's "Dravidian Grammar," p. 89, edit. i.

‡ It may be said once for all that the Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purānam, by Paranjoti Munivar, cannot pretend to be historical. Its date is 1051 A.D. See Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 123, and Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu p. 50, as to this.



There are, however, inferences to be drawn from the silence of writers as to the hymns of Mánikka Vāṇagar. He was no obscure person, and, according to general belief, his hymns have enjoyed an extraordinary popularity for centuries, being mingled with the daily worship in every Siva temple throughout the Tamil country. This being so, we might confidently expect to find some mention or allusion to them in literary works of a subsequent date, when occasion arose to refer to such writings.

Now, about 600 to 640 A.D. the collection of hymns that goes by the name of Deváram was compiled by the three saintly persons already referred to, but neither do the hymns nor the other writings of the compilers contain any reference to Mánikka Vāṇagar.

In the Saiva Bible of the Tamils—a collection of sacred books upon the Saiva religion compiled by Nambi Ándar Nambi in the time of Rája Rája Déva, about 984 A.D.—out of twelve sets of poems included, Jnána Sambandhar's works have the first three places, then Appár has the next three, Sundara Múrti Náyanar the seventh, and Mánikka Vāṇagar the eighth place. Thus, the three compilers of the Deváram have the prior position. Gandaráditya Chóla, a King who was in being before 940, and succeeded his brother Rájáditya Chóla in 949, is given the ninth place, and Yogi Tirumúlar the tenth. The eleventh place is occupied by miscellaneous compositions, and the twelfth by the Periya Puránam of Sékkilár. Those who contend for the priority of Mánikka Vāṇagar to Jnána Sambandhar of the seventh century suggest that the Deváram is only an incomplete collection, and account for the omission of all mention of Mánikka on this ground.\*

This reason, however, when we consider the eminent position of Mánikka Vāṇagar's writings in the hymnology of the country, seems hardly satisfactory.

In regard to Mánikka Vāṇagar's position of eighth in the Saiva Tamil Bible collection, those who are in favour of his

\* Tirumalai Kolundu, p. 24.

priority to Jnána Sambandhar suggest that the works are not set out in the order of time, but only in the order of preference, either for the devotees themselves in relation to their superhuman powers, or for the exceptional musical charms of their compositions.\* It is to be noticed, however, that Gandaráditya, the ninth and last but three, is of the period 940 to 950 A.D., or not far from the time of the compiler, 984. This circumstance, combined with the fact that those included in the first seven numbers were undoubtedly of the period 610 to 640, is in some degree suggestive of chronological order.

Another reason suggested is that Mánikka is placed later on account of the superior importance of his works.† This reason is inconsistent with the position given him in respect of the ninth, eleventh, and twelfth places, as he will be universally admitted to be superior to the persons to whom those places were assigned.

On the whole, these reasons do not satisfactorily account for Mánikka's works being placed in posterior order to those of the Deváram compilers, if he was prior in time.

There is, further, the Tiruttondaittogai, or Catalogue of Saints, drawn up by Sundara Múrti Náyanar, the third of the Deváram hymners in the seventh century. From this Mánikka Váçagar is entirely omitted. Having regard to the eminence of Mánikka Váçagar as a saint, this would seem conclusive to show that he must have been subsequent to the time of the Deváram hymners, who lived no earlier than the beginning of the seventh century. Those, however, who insist on his priority would regard him as included in the postscript, "Others besides who attained saintship," appended to this document; but this view Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai seems rightly to hold cannot for a moment be entertained. He observes, also, that the omission cannot be owing to the remote antiquity of Mánikka Váçagar, since five saints who admittedly pre-

\* Tirumalai Kolundu, p. 36.

† *Ibid.*, p. 31.

ceded Mánikka, two of whom are referred to in his own works, are included in the Catalogue.

Nor does he accept another reason that is assigned—namely, that Manikka's religious note was pitched too high for the purpose of Sundara and the other hymners, his ideal of God being too impersonal properly to impress the multitude. But he comes to the conclusion (p. 45) that Mánikka may be regarded as included in the clause of the document which runs "and poets of no untrue devotion," in which it was possibly intended to include, he thinks, all the poets of the Sangam Age, the enumeration of whom would have occupied too great a space in Sundara's work.

This, however, appears to me an inadmissible view. Would Sundara or any other writer have the presumption to lump up writers and thinkers and saints of the eminence of Mánikka, Kapilár, Kalládar and others in a mere appendix which relegated them to comparative insignificance?

Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu appears to be greatly influenced by the occurrence in Appár's writings of an allusion to the legend of the transformation of the jackals into horses, a legend specially connected, as is supposed, with the career of Mánikka Váçagar, though the passage does not expressly refer to him. If the passage be genuine, and Appár in his mention of this miracle performed by Siva showed that he intended to connect it with the history of Mánikka Váçagar, it would, of course, be conclusive in favour of the priority of Mánikka Váçagar to Appár. But this is not so, and the passage, even though it be allowed to be genuine, may simply point to the previous existence of a similar legend in some other connection, just as the legend of the Vanni tree may have existed prior to the time of Jnána Sambandhar;\* and, looking to what has been said above, this circumstance can scarcely be said to have weight in favour of the priority of Mánikka Váçagar to Appár.

Mr. Tirumalai Kolundu Pillai also refers to the fact that Appár is found to use similar expressions to those employed

\* Tirumalai Kolundu, p. 33.

by Mánikka Váçagar in some instances. But, apart from the fact that men of devotional minds are apt to hit upon a similar mode of expression, it is quite as probable that Mánikka Váçagar took his expressions from Appár, as that Appár took his from Mánikka Váçagar. The tradition also referred to that Appár was never without a copy of Mánikka Váçagar's hymns in his hands, and was always engaged in the study of them, has no historical basis. I come to the conclusion, therefore, that Mánikka Váçagar must stand at some date between 640 and 984 A.D., this latter date being the period of the compilation of the Saiva Bible, in which his works found a place.

It has never been suggested that he was a contemporary of Kumáрила Bhatta (725 A.D.), or of Sankaráchááriár, now considered to have been born about 788 A.D.,\* or as having lived in the same century with them, nor is he mentioned or referred to by them. Now, Sankaráchááriár was a native of Kérala (Malabár), and no doubt familiar with Tamil, of which Malayálam, his own vernacular, is an offshoot. If Mánikka had lived at or before Sankaráchááriár's time, would not his doctrines and career have found a notice in the great reformer's works?

If, then, we accept the general opinion that Sankaráchááriár's period is of the eighth century and part of the ninth, we may safely conclude that Mánikka Váçagar's period was not earlier than the middle of the ninth century—*i.e.*, 850 A.D. And as for the reasons above given he could not be later than 985, and from the place given him in the Saiva sacred books was prior to Gandaráditya, we may place his lifetime between 850 and 940 A.D.

The Sanscrit name "Arimardhana," that of the Pándyan King to whom he is said to have been Prime Minister, is not found, there being no lists of Pándyan Kings of that time forthcoming. The name, if from Arim and Mardhana, would mean "Pounder of his enemies," or, if from Arim and Ardhana, might mean "Tormentor of his enemies,"

\* Some opinions place him as early as 590 A.D.

and it is very possible the name is, as Mr. Kolundu Pillai suggests, the Sanscrit equivalent of some other Tamil name actually borne by him. Perhaps it may hereafter be ascertained to be so, and it is worth while noticing that the name "Arimjaya," "Conqueror of his enemies," occurs at about this period in a list of Chóla Kings\*—*i.e.*, between 900 and 950 A.D., showing that such an exclusively Sanscrit name was current at that period among the Chólas, and thus lending probability to the tradition that the Pándyan King may also have had such a Sanscrit name as *his* royal designation.

A serious objection to the great antiquity claimed for the writings of Mánikka, Tiruvalluvar, and other great Tamil writers is that referred to by M. Vinson in his letter to the editor of the Madras journal, *The Light of Truth*, of May 31, 1901, which appears at p. 30 of the June and July number of the journal for that year—*viz.*, that writing was only introduced into South India towards the middle of the third century, A.D., and that there is no known inscription dating prior to the sixth century.

If we adopt the chronological order given below, which embodies the conclusions I have arrived at as set out in this paper, we shall find that all difficulties as to the silence of other writers in regard to Mánikka Vāṇagar and Tiruvalluvar disappear, which is a further confirmation of the accuracy of the position given to them. If, on the other hand, we adopt any other chronological order, such as that suggested by those who would antedate the third Sangam to the first or second century A.D., and the period of Mánikka Vāṇagar to a still earlier date, nothing but confusion arises and endless impossibilities of accounting for the silence of later writers as to persons and institutions supposed to have existed in these earlier times, which in the very nature of things they would have referred to had such persons and institutions actually occupied a place in that earlier period.

\* See Duff's "Indian Chronology," p. 323.

A.D. 600. Jnána Sambandhar  
           Návukkaraiyar or Appár  
           Sundara Múrti Náyanár } compilers of the Deváram.

This last was the author of Tiruttonḍaittogai, or "Enumeration of Saints."

End of Narasimma Varman's reign, about 642 A.D.

About 725 Kumárla Bhatta.

About 788 Sankarácháryar is supposed to have been born.

850. Mánikka Váçagar's earliest probable date.

940. Latest date to which Mánikka Váçagar's life probably extended.

940. Gaṇḍaráḍitya Chóla, poet. He became King in 948.

984. Rája Rája Déva, Emperor.

1000. Nambi Ándár Nambi compiled the Sacred Books in Tamil.

1064. Pánḍyan kingdom absorbed by the Chólas.

1100. The so-called third Sangam was being held from about this date.

Period of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Rudran Kannannár wrote a poem in praise of Karikála Chóla, and another in praise of a Prince Tondaimán.

Time of Senguttavan Chéra. Ilangóvaḍiál's poem Silappadhikáram. Sítalai Sáttanár at Senguttavan's court. Ilangóvaḍiál and Sítalai Sáttanár both quote Tiruvaḷḷuvar, and Sítalai Sáttanár commends him. They quote distich 55 of the "Kuráḷ."

1117. Rámánuja, the Vaishnavite reformer, flees from the persecution of Karikála Chóla. At this time there was a general of Kulotonga I. named Karunákara, with the title of Tondaimán.

1142. Gajabáhu, a King of Ceylon, at Senguttavan Chéra's court.

The poet Kambar refers to Rámánuja in his poem Saḍagópa Antádí.

1313. Umápati, last Saiva saint.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## IX.—CONCERNING MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

IN Japan a priestless ceremony, a ringless marriage, a wedding carried out devoid of almost any religious office, is as binding in its establishment (at least, on the part of the woman) as any marriage conducted under the most rigid rite and in conformity to ancient usage known throughout the civilized world.

Many manners and customs of the Japanese have struck us as being at least peculiar to the nation, full of interest and novelty in contrast with those of other countries. Those ceremonials which dispense entirely with every religious obligation strike us, perhaps, most of all, and excite a feeling of inquiry as to their ultimate successful fulfilment. Like everything else, Japanese customs vary in detail in the different provinces in which they exist. This is inevitable where dependence and custom are based on tradition.

The training of a young girl was severe and exclusive, particularly after the days of happy childhood were over, and the "festival dolls" had descended to a younger sister. There was no season in town, no *début* into circles where a likely partner might be found, no excitement of a first ball, or a dance with the most honoured guest to the envy of all present. The daughter's future was quietly arranged in the home between parents, guardians, and go-betweens of both families, after every item of suitability had been fully weighed, and found nearly equal. When all items were settled, presents were exchanged, and if the gifts were accepted by the parties and their relatives, there could be no withdrawal. The giving and receiving of presents corresponded to a formal betrothal, and the solemnity of the situation was thereby ratified. On rare occasions the couple were permitted to interview each other, generally in

the house of the middleman and his wife, and in their presence ; or a young lady would, by means of her mirror, concealed in the folds of her kimino, steal a passing vision of her future lord when he came to pay his visit of introduction to her parents ; otherwise they did not meet till the wedding-day.

Many accomplishments came into the requirements of a finished education : embroidery, the arrangement of flowers, rearing and tending household pets, a good knowledge of botany, of fencing, the management of a house and household, dexterity in games of chance and skill, a fair knowledge of the works of celebrated authors, the composition of poetry, and numerous other means of beguiling weary hours for self and others within the home enclosure.

Alteration in dress, of colour and shape, the method of arranging the obé, or sash, and especially in the elaborate coiffure and the choice of ornaments displayed in the hair, denoted that the musumé, or marriageable daughter, had arrived at that stage of her existence when her parents would be willing to part with their dearest treasure, if any suitable alliance could be entertained. This prospect was not altogether the fulfilment of a delightful dream. It was a duty on the part of the parents to provide for the future of their offspring, and a sterner duty on the part of the maiden to obey and abide by the parents' decision. It was by no means a temporary separation : it signified entire resignation to all future rights and claims ; for from the moment the daughter left the parental roof she was as dead to her home as if she had ceased to exist. And in order to impress this state of things on both parties a curious ceremony ensued.

Enveloped in a robe of the finest white, the prescribed funeral colour and fashion, the maiden was borne out of her father's house as a corpse, quietly resting upon a bier or litter. This burden was entrusted to bearers selected from each family, whose duty it was to introduce her to her future home, where other relations conjointly awaited her arrival.



Their duty was to see that a white matting had been placed at the entrance of the house, whereon to rest the litter, before the bride elect was escorted within doors. While this ceremony was in progress, her father's house was undergoing purification after the manner of attention that is given to houses in which a death had occurred. As the cortège neared its destination, torches were lighted in the garden as signals to show the way, and to carry out some mysterious meaning as yet unexplained to us. In the inland districts these rules did not prevail, but the bride leading the procession, who toiled along on foot with the ample list of accustomary presents, was partially hidden from sight, with her head concealed in a half-closed umbrella, or enwrapped in a garment whose ample folds hid face and hands well away from sight. A lady of high degree never showed her hand ; gloves, however, were not worn, but rich, long sleeves were drawn forward to conceal the dainty digits, or a veil of white floss silk often covered the head before as well as during the marriage ceremony.

Costly offerings were exchanged, and these were regulated according to the rank of the parties. Although it was part of the duty of the bride's parents to prepare a handsome trousseau, gifts of rich silk, embroidered girdles, fans, hair-pins, and other presents, had to be sent by the groom, together with many kinds of viands, barrels of wine, sword, and precious curios to the bride's parents. To her relations and to the ladies-in-waiting who participated in the ceremony, suitable presents were also offered.

After the bearers had rested for a few moments, they carried their fair burden round the premises of her future abode. Along the corridor two tall candles were lighted and guarded ; as the bride approached, these lights were changed over to alternate sides, then the flames were commingled, for a brief space of time suffered to burn together, and then were finally extinguished. Further on, four people, two men and two women, awaited the advent of the new inmates. These couples, standing on either side

of the passage, were pounding up moche, or rice, in two separate mortars, and as soon as the litter passed, the contents of both mortars changed hands, and were finally incorporated into one inseparable whole mixture of the finest rice flour.\*

Ladies-in-waiting repaired to the bridegroom's house the day before the wedding, and spent much time in preparing many comforts. The special robes for the forthcoming ceremony were hung over racks or screens, only used for this purpose; presents were made conspicuous, and the few articles that the bride was permitted to claim as her own from the home she was leaving for ever, were thoughtfully disposed of in a manner to give pleasure to the possessor, who had but little else to call her own.

In this strange marriage ceremony no vows were needed, no prayers or promises. No kiss of love sealed the compact, no gentle pressure of the hand reassured the trembling maiden of future and ever ready protection, no formal words were expected to be witnessed by the company present. It was a silent contract, as silent as the grave. Cups of wine, containing just one sip, were passed between the contracting parties—nine offered by the groom in triplets; nine in like manner returned by the bride, was the preliminary binding action. This wine had previously been mingled by the wine-bearers, from two separate bottles to which were attached models of male and female butterflies made in white paper. These were pressed together, or suffered to remain as emblems of immortal love in all its mystery. While the saké-drinking was proceeded with, delicacies were served—a pair of turtle-doves, fish, rice, cakes, dainty fruits, and other particular condiments.

Then the scene changed, and the second part of the ceremony was marked by the room being rearranged, while the

\* It was not until we became acquainted with Japan that the custom of throwing rice over our brides was prevalent. Previously corn was used as a symbolic expression on the part of the wedding guests. The latest modern use of confetti is absurd, and of no symbolic value whatever.

company withdrew, and the robes of white were discarded for those of richer make. Costly and beautiful lacquer drinking vessels replaced those of porcelain. Upon these lacquer cups a representation of the double-headed pine-tree of Takasago was always found, and a model of the tree, with all its symbolic and traditional accessories, graced the room.

The marriage feast was considered incomplete without this significant representation ; everyone present had learnt the beautiful traditional story of faithful wedded love and filial obedience, embodied in the graceful growth of this particular specimen of coniferæ—

“ . . . the emblem of unchangeableness ;  
Exalted is their fame,  
As a symbol to the end of time—  
The fame of the fir-trees that have grown old together.”

To the bottles from whence the mixed wine was poured out during the second ceremony, instead of white, gold and silver paper butterflies were attached, and in point of fact all the preparations were on a more luxurious scale. The ladies who presided as wine-servers dressed their hair after the manner adopted at Court—that is to say, the tresses were allowed to fall down the back between the shoulders, showing the entire length of the hair, and the ends were secured by butterfly bows. The wine was served out with spouted ladles having long handles. Saké was generally taken hot, or at least warm.

The tedium of the day did not end here; the bride had to be formally introduced to the mother- and father-in-law and near relations as the bride and newly-adopted daughter, each in turn drinking again tiny cups of wine, as she pledged her obedience to all in authority in her husband's household. Her position was fully realised by the time the ordeal was over. She became conscious she had parted with her last day of liberty, and that henceforth meek submission to her husband and his parents must ever mark her future actions.

If the bridegroom's parents were not living, the last duty that marked the day's events was a joint visit on the part of both young people to the family altar, in order to do obeisance before the *ihai*, or tablets, that recorded the names of the deceased relatives. For this purpose the *ihai* were placed on the *tokonoma*, with a portion of the wedding feast, as offerings to the ancestral spirit; a miniature feast, in fact, was spread, including even a pair of love-birds, never absent from the marriage menu. For this, the only religious sign of the event, the bride and groom were attired in robes of the richest brocaded silk, the groom with stiff wing-like ornamentation about the shoulders, to emphasize this part of the ceremonial. Then the last act and courtesy had to be carried through by the groom, whose duty it was to send to the bride's household an ample supply of rice, cakes, and other dainty food, carefully packed in rich lacquer boxes of special shape and make—no small item in the expenses of the day, but no doubt gratefully offered as the winding up of a rather lengthy festival.

One startling item in the ancient institution of marriage was personal disfigurement on the part of the bride. Before parents and guardians the honoured lady had to cover up the natural charms of a set of white teeth with a black dye. This custom was carried out by means of a severe prescription consisting of iron filings and gall-nuts stirred up with a red-hot iron bar, allowed to infuse for a certain number of days. But as even this formula did not appear impregnable, the process of blackening had to be constantly resorted to, lest a more unsightly disfigurement resulted, when the dye began to fade away. But the resignation of her personal charms did not end here. After marriage the wife had still to pursue the theory, and before she became a mother custom required her to part with her eyebrows by the process of shaving, to adopt henceforth a sombre shade of colour in her attire, to bind round her her sash in a less ornate fashion, to clip her sleeves of their graceful length, and to arrange her hair in a less attractive style; to enter-

tain towards her lord and master, as well as towards his parents, a submissive demeanour ; to suffer herself to take the second place in his household, as long as it pleased the mother-in-law to rule domestic affairs ; to walk behind her husband on occasions of ceremony ; not to speak to him unless first addressed ; and often, after handing round the first course at a feast, to retire and become a "corner lady," to be alone conversed with at the pleasure of those present.

So much for the ancient ceremony of alliance. From the man's point of view, he took the devotion of his wife as a matter of course. It has been stated that for seven slight disqualifications provisions were made for a divorce at the will of the husband. This has naturally called forth much comment. Noble families prided their honour too deeply to avail themselves of such a step, an inharmonious home being considered as much a disgrace as the alternative desire to dissolve it. But there existed customs to carry on the line of noble families. Should no heir be born, those who could afford it, by mutual consent, received a sho, or handmaiden, into their family to raise up an heir ; nevertheless, the first wife always ranked first as wife and even mother, and the child was given over to her care and tender keeping. This state of things was regarded as inevitable, and did not of necessity mar the peace of a faithful wife's devotion, so great was the desire to continue unbroken a long line of ancestry, based on the established belief in the unique and unbroken dynasty of Japan's Imperial rulers.

Marriages were legalised by registration in the office of the konchō, or registrar, at the Town Hall. The name of the bride was entered in the public records of the family into which she had been received. Notification was also sent to her own town or village that she had left her father's roof and had been adopted into her husband's family. This was necessary because a custom prevailed to speak of

the newly-married lady, not as Mrs. So-and-so, but as the wife of Mr. So-and-so.

It will be understood by this monograph that the marriage ceremony of Japan is simply a domestic and family agreement. No outward religious observance was required to complete the union. Priests were not summoned to bless the united pair, or to ask special advantages to crown their future. The ethics of ancestral worship alone influenced in a silent and unobtrusive manner the future lives of the wedded pair. It was the dead who were called to remembrance, whose spirits would watch over the living, who were believed to be ever present in the midst of the circle of the home-life, and on this auspicious occasion in particular. The ceremonial was full of symbolism. Each step in the proceedings, and every dish of food partaken of, set forth the lesson of indissoluble union. Surroundings silently supplied religious teaching: and the bride's white robe in time became her shroud.

But every custom has generally its bright side. There exist in Japan family ties deeper than those which influence as a rule the family affections of the West. This state of things has originated from the morals of Confucius and the ethics of Shintoism. There are many tenets which bind a home together and strengthen the harmony of life within its walls. These are not learnt through the public oratory in temples, but in the constitutional and religious government of the home-life of all classes. This training was undertaken first by the mother, later by the father, and by all in authority successively. Responsibilities weighed heavy on the heads of each household, and all points of importance relating to the career of each junior, received their most just and careful consideration, authority ranking thus: "Ancestors were the first ruling power, relations the second, society the third, and the law the fourth."

Hence, in order to carry out these responsibilities, the elder male member of a family inherited all real property.

Money was not shared, and fortunes were seldom divided, except in the case of personal belongings. A dowry was not expected for the daughter on her marriage, except as was understood by the richness and amplitude of her trousseau. But the elder brother had to provide the necessary funds to start the younger in life, to pay for his education, and to look well after his mother during her widowhood. A curious custom existed in a home where no heir was born in respect to adoption. If only a daughter constituted the family, a second son from another family could be adopted, who would eventually become the husband of the daughter, but in this case his jurisdiction over his wife was not so great as in the case of ordinary marriage.

The religious system of Japan is sustained not so much by worship or attendance at the temples,\* religion flourishes in the hearts and homes of the people. The family shrine is visited daily by all members; the altar receives the greatest care, also the cemeteries where rest the bodies of the departed. None who have lived together are ever forgotten; a *ihai*, or tablet, recording either the family name or the "going away" name, is conspicuous in every household. These are dusted and cared for, prayed before, and looked on tenderly as precious records of lives whose past beauty reflects honour and praise upon the living. Reverence is of more account than love or affection; obedience and submission the highest moral attainments. These characteristics have influenced the past history, and will still strengthen the future enterprises of the people of the Far East.

"Marriage," says Mr. Daigoro Goh, "is, in Dai Nippon as elsewhere, the greatest event in human life. It constitutes a life, a home, a family, a community, a nation; it is the continued union of two elements of the universe, without which the world could not continue in all its beauty and perpetual regeneration, its endless chain of youth

\* It was not the custom for women to attend the temples much before the age of forty, or, in fact, any crowded place of entertainment.

and variation. In the two greatest religions of the world conjugal alliance has commenced the story of the nations. Isanagi and Isanani, the Adam and Eve of Japan, having sprung originally out of chaos, attaining ultimate perfection, sought the love and companionship of each other, peopled the Island of the Dragon Fly, and began their scheme of organisation, which, being set in motion, has extended even till to-day in its progress, perfection, and expansion."



## CHINA, THE AVARS, AND THE FRANKS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN the thirty-fourth chapter of Gibbon (1825 edition) it is stated of Attila's Eastern dominions: "We may be assured . . . that he insulted and vanquished the Khan of the formidable Geougen, and that he sent Ambassadors to negotiate an equal alliance with the Empire of China." It is added that "the King of the Huns (433-453) was dreaded, not only as a warrior, but as a magician"; and a footnote explains this latter statement by setting forth how "the Geougen believed that the Huns could excite at pleasure storms of wind and rain." In chapter forty-two the same distinguished author, in speaking of the first independent Turkish Khan, Tumen (d. 553), describes how the Geougen Khan contemptuously rejected the application of his then vassal the Turk for a marriage alliance, and how, after a "decisive battle, which almost extirpated the nation of the Geougen," the new and more powerful empire of the Turks was established in Tartary (552). Gibbon then goes on to show how the Turks vanquished the Ogors, or Varchonites, of the River Til, and how the remnants of this defeated nation "followed the well-known road of the Volga," and, under the name of the "false Avars," were confused in Europe with the "real Avars," or Geougen.—It is apparently De Guignes alone who is responsible to Gibbon for these identifications. As is well known, the Avars began to influence the development of the Slav populations of Europe in A.D. 558. They obtained audiences at Constantinople, to which place a Turkish mission was also sent in 568-569, the chief object of the Turks being to obtain the surrender of the 20,000 Avars who had escaped their clutches; meanwhile Bayan, the Khan of the Avars, had allied himself with the Lombards for the destruction of the Gepids (557), and had engaged besides in persistent hostilities against the Emperor Justin.

The chief, if not the only, existing authorities from which it is possible to ascertain who the Geougen, the Ogors, and the Avars were, and what was the link which bound Europe with Asia in those days, are the Chinese national histories, and Greek authors like Menander and Theophylact. I leave these latter to be dealt with critically by competent Greek scholars, who may possibly be able to fit in such definite facts as they can gather with those offered to us by the Chinese; the utmost I can do is to study those excerpts and translations from the Greek which are to be found in English authors. Of Chinese I can speak more authoritatively, and I proceed accordingly.

The origin of the Geougen Empire was as follows : From about B.C. 200 to A.D. 200 the Chinese had been engaged in an unceasing struggle with the horse-riding Tartars known collectively to their historians as the Hiung-nu. At last the independent power of these nomads was permanently broken ; one half of them disappeared in the direction of Lake Balkash and the River Irtysh, working through Sogd towards the Volga, and the other half remained on the northern frontiers of China. Meanwhile a Tungusic race (not Manchu, and not Hiung-nu) had, under the generic name of Sien-pi, gained, and for a time held sway over, the whole of Tartary, even contesting with Tibetan adventurers, and with the remains of the Hiung-nu, the right to rule, as Chinese Emperors, the northern parts of China proper. This promiscuous struggle continued from A.D. 300 until A.D. 400, when the Toba family of the above-mentioned Tungusic race firmly established itself in the modern Shan Si as Emperors of North China, such of the pure Chinese as objected to Tartar rule being gradually driven over the Yangtsze River to the modern Nanking, where a number of ephemeral dynasties reigned as Emperors of South China. The Tobas were, of course, in more or less hostile competition with the Tartar nomads of the north, until, about A.D. 600, both halves of China were firmly reunited, first by the Sui, and then more

completely by the great T'ang dynasty. It was between, and within about fifty years of these two dynastic periods, A.D. 200 and A.D. 600, that the power of the Geougen first grew and finally disappeared. It began in this way: About A.D. 275, when the Toba Tartars were just beginning to dream of empire, one of their captains in the course of desert fighting took a prisoner, of bald-headed appearance and unknown tribe, who was totally ignorant of his own name and origin. In a few years this captive's activity in the field as a trooper gained for him emancipation from slavery and promotion to sub-command; but, having failed on one occasion to be present with his "powers" at the appointed trysting-place, the ex-slave fled from punishment to a certain tribe of the Kao-ch'ê, or "High Cart" nation, which was the name then given to what became the Ouigour Turks of the Selinga region in the seventh century, also called in Turkish the Tölös tribes. Here the refugee gathered round him a band of desperadoes and adventurers. His son succeeded to the command, styling his band of ambitious marauders the "Jou-jan." What this Chinesified word may have originally meant it is impossible now to say. Not improbably it may be the old Turkish word *jiraja* of the inscriptions (recently discovered on the Orkhon), meaning "left-hand" or "northern"; but, however that may be, it is also met with in the Chinese forms *ju-ju* and *jwe-jwe*, and it is the word which the French Jesuits two centuries ago transliterated for us as "Geougen." The tribal succession passed from father to son during three or four more generations, when two royal brothers at last agreed to split up the rising nation into the east and west divisions. The end of the fourth century shows us this people constantly engaged in war with the Toba Tartars, who were now firmly established, with capital in the north of modern Shan Si, as Emperors of North China. The Geougen were next reunited under Shelun, a powerful descendant of the original "bald-head" family (who had finally adopted the word Bald as a clan name); and now,

apparently for the first time in Chinese history, occurs the word *Khaghan*, or "Emperor." The Khan of the Geougen Tartars, as we shall call him, usually held his Court in what is in our times called the Alashan region, somewhere about mediæval Etzina. He had conquered and annexed most of the High Carts, and also those remains of the earlier Hiung-nu called the Bayirku, lying further to his west. This last word again appears in Turkish on the Orkhon inscriptions of the seventh century, and some of their fighting with Shelun is plainly stated to have been on the Orkhon River. Owing to a misprint in some of the Chinese national histories, De Guignes, and after him Gibbon, erroneously gives this first Khan's name as Toulun, a mistake all the more important in that a century later the Geougen Khan really was named Toulun.

From first to last the Geougen never possessed anything in the shape of a town. They were what the Chinese call a "horse-back State," pure and simple; that is, they were nomads, moving about with their tents, and pitching for a few weeks or months in ever-changing valleys or oases, according to the needs of their flocks and herds, to the supplies of pasturage and water, and to the temperature of the seasons. Whilst we have tolerably full accounts of social usages amongst the ancient Hiung-nu, and their later descendants the Turks, we have very little to show us what were the particular points in Geougen character which differentiated the ruling caste among them from these two—that is, from their predecessors and successors in desert empire; but the bulk of them are clearly stated to have been Hiung-nu tribes too. The evidence of language is, of course, not to be despised. We are given the native trisyllable for "bald-head," and also the native words (as they sounded to Chinese ears) for all the Khans' descriptions or titles. Thus, beginning with Shelun the "Conqueror," we have, in succession, the "Extender," the "Fair," the "Victorious," the "Spiritual," the "Pensive," the "Good," the "Perpetual," the "Merry," the "Successor," the

"Subduer," the "Peaceful," and the "Reuniting" Khaghans. All these words must have great potential value in the hands of competent Turkish, Mongol, or Manchu scholars, and such may always obtain the Chinese sounds from me for the asking.

The remarks of Cervantes, who lived long amongst the Turks of the Mediterranean, are here very much to the point: *Es costumbre entre los Turcos ponerse nombres de alguna virtud que en ellos haya*. This is almost word for word what the Chinese say of the Geougen: "The Khans and statesmen of the Geougen are designated according to their deeds and abilities, just as Chinese Emperors are so designated posthumously; but the Geougen appellations, on the contrary, were only used during life." The Prince's wife was called *Khaghatun*, which title, when in 550-552 the Turks overthrew the Geougen, was also applied to the Queen of the Turks, and is the more modern word *Khatun*. There are other evidences suggesting that the Geougen organization, such as it was, was bodily taken over, or at least partly imitated, by the Turks. For instance, the titles *Bagha*, *Teghin*, and *Tarkhan*, which frequently occur in the carved stone Turko-Chinese inscriptions in Sogdo-Aramæan writing discovered and deciphered within the past fifteen years, and which also occur as regularly in Chinese history, are found to have been used by the Geougen at least a century before the name "Turk" (taken from the appearance of the peak under whose shadow they dwelt) was applied to a petty Hiung-nu tribe. In the same way such Chinese imitation words as *tudun*, *bayen*, *djigin*, *djilifat*, and others not yet satisfactorily fitted with proved alphabetical Tartar originals, are proved to have been derived by the Turks from either the Geougen or from a common source; more especially the word *bayen* was used alike by the Geougen and Turks, by the European Avars, and by the Mongols. On the other hand, the entire absence from Geougen history of common Turkish words like *jabgu* and *chör*, found both in Chinese

and in Sogdo-Turkish, seems to point to some radical divergency between the two Hiung-nu-descended nations.

There are points in their social life which also appear to differentiate the Geougen from the Hiung-nu and Turks. Not only is *kumiss*, or mares' milk, not once mentioned in their history, but the Geougen are particularly said to have ridden cows as well as horses—not bulls or bullocks, but actually cows and heifers. There are numerous evidences that they were dirtier, stupider, and less inclined to engage in hand-to-hand conflict than any other earlier or later Tartars of their political pretensions. The King of the Yüeh-pan, when on his way to pay them a visit of courtesy, turned back in disgust at their gross and filthy habits. It also comes out quite clearly that (however much Tunguz there may have been mixed up with a basis of Turkish in the Geougen rulers' composition) the most eastern Tartars, or Mongol-Manchus, when in possession of Chinese territory, have always possessed a greater genius for organization and discipline than have the western Tartars, or Turks, when in the same predicament. The true position of the Geougen, both ethically and topically, between these two main Tartar divisions points to their having been what we loosely call Mongols:—indeed, one of their Khans was called Nogai: but to this day it does not appear clearly what unmistakable features distinguish the average Mongol from the average Sien-pi on the one hand, or from the average Turk on the other. I take it the three stand very much in the same mixed inter-relation as did the Gothic, Scandinavian, and Teutonic elements. Moreover, we must assume that the Mongol tribes, like the Turkish tribes, existed for many generations before the word "Mongol" gained national weight, as with the word "Turk" seven centuries before it.

The Geougen had no political influence south of the great road which leads from Si-an Fu to Kashgar; in other words, they never penetrated for more than a few days at a time south of the Great Wall. On one occasion only

470) they made a flying raid upon Khoten, the King of which place sent in consequence an urgent message to North China. The practical Toba Emperor said: "The Geougen are all very well at swooping raids, but they are no good for such steady work as besieging cities. They must have water and pasturage to support so huge a flying host, and either Khoten will have fallen and been plundered, or the Geougens will have scuttled back, *re infectâ*, long before my army can get there." He was right. The only opening southwards which the Geougen possessed and controlled was part of modern Tarbagatai province, and probably it was in consequence of this that their later Khans were able to cultivate friendly relations with the Indo-Scythians, or Ephthalites, who then ruled imperially over the whole Pamir region. The only other western Power with which the Geougen are stated to have had relations was that of the Yüeh-pan (which on philological grounds may well stand for E-var), whom the Chinese historians plainly locate in the modern Semipalatinsk or Balkash region. These people are not only stated to have belonged by descent to those Hiung-nu who fled west in A.D. 90-100, but their rulers are said to have for many centuries later been accorded by the western Turko-Chinese States the ancient imperial title of *shen-yü*, which had been used by the Hiung-nu. To the east the Geougen scarcely ever came into collision with the Cathayans. In a word, from their first appearance in 275 to their utter extinction as a Power in 552, the Geougen were absolutely confined within the circle bounded by Manchuria, China, Kokonor, Kashgaria, the (?) Avars (Yüeh-pan), the Khirgiz, and the Tölös, or unsubdued Ouigours; that is to say, they occupied Mongolia proper, and no other places, unless for a few days' raid.

The Chinese dynasties ruling at Nanking had some relations with the Geougen, the object of both negotiators being to arrange a united plan of action against their common enemies the Tobas. It must be remembered that at this

time all South China was semi-barbarous and thinly populated by true Chinese, who only occupied the lines of the rivers, and had colonies dotted about at central places. About A.D. 480 a southern envoy succeeded, after several years' travelling, in getting through to Tartary; he spent some time there, and it was he who brought back the yarns about Geougen power over the elements, flooding hostile armies by summoning hurricanes, heavy rains, and snow-storms, etc.; but it is noticeable that the northerners, who were in constant contact with the nomads, relate none of these things, which Gibbon has transferred from the Geougen to the "Huns." Yet it is none the less evident that the Geougen had a strong element of superstition in their composition, for, according to southern history, one of their premiers affected to foretell the collapse of a southern dynasty; and, according to northern history, one of the Geougen Queens was a successful and ambitious witch, who had stolen a Prince, and had then persuaded the Khan that she could get him back from heaven by using incantations. In this connection solemn prayers were publicly offered for seven days to the "God of Heaven," and there are besides numerous indications of Buddhist influence even in the personal naming of the Khans; so that we may well believe it possible that Nestorian as well as Buddhist priests had already found their way to the Mongolian deserts (Nestorius died in 439).

In the year 520 family dissensions once more broke out among the Geougen, and the Khan Anakwei had to take refuge in China from his cousin Brahman. A very full account is given of his reception by the Toba Emperor, and particular stress is laid upon the fact that the ruling "Bald" family had its obscure origin in Toba-land. It is also made quite clear that when the Tobas definitely "moved south" in order to rule as Chinese Emperors, the Geougen from the north occupied the territory thus abandoned, and were in turn pushed southwards by Ouigour or Tölös attacks. Some day we may succeed in



unravelling all this, but for the present it is enough to gain a few clear preliminary notions and leading principles. The dispute ended in China's conciliating the two claimants, and arranging to divide the Geougen Empire into the eastern and western divisions. Anakwei was given immense subsidies and settled in the modern Urga region. Brahman, on the other hand, ruled the country about medieval Etzina. Now it was that we first hear of Geougen-Ephthalite relations. Brahman's three wives were all Ephthalite women, and, being dissatisfied with the Chinese settlement, he seems to have sought to avail himself of existing alliances farther west; but he was pursued by Toba armies, captured, and ultimately imprisoned in China, where he died. Meanwhile Anakwei strengthened his position by concluding a marriage alliance with the Tobas.

Now, however, the powerful Toba dynasty began itself to fall into decay, and under the influence of two rival Generals was divided into the West Tobas of Si-an Fu and the East Tobas of modern Ho Nan. At last these Generals, or *maires-de-palais*, constituted for themselves and their sons a hereditary position, and, finally dethroning the *rois fainéants*, blossomed out into the rival empires of Chou and Ts'i. The Hiung-nu principalities dotted along the highroad to the West having during the fifth century been destroyed one after the other by the Tobas, it became possible for the Turks (who had for many generations been employed in the Alashan region as ironworkers by their masters the Geougen) to assert their independent rights. This is the earliest appearance in Chinese history of the word "Turk." Anakwei grew so presumptuous under the powerful Eastern Toba support which he enjoyed, that he offended, not only his patrons, but also his Turkish vassals, who consequently allied themselves with the Western Tobas. The important result of all this was that the first Turkish Khan Tumen almost annihilated the Geougen hosts in the year 552; Anakwei committed suicide, and family feuds about the succession further reduced the Geougens' failing strength.

In their despair the royal family, with about 1,000 other households, threw themselves upon the mercy of the Western Tobas at Si-an Fu. As the treacherous mayor of the palace was just contemplating an act of dethronement and the establishment of a dynasty of his own at that very moment, and was therefore most anxious to conciliate the rising Turks, he basely complied with the demand of the Turkish Ambassador, and surrendered to him all the fugitive Geougen in his hands, the Khan included. It is not very easy to find the exact date of this craven massacre, of which even the Chinese historians seem heartily ashamed, but either in 555 or 556 the Turks at the capital were allowed to butcher 3,000 able-bodied Geougen in cold blood, only reserving for slavery or worse ignominy the handsome and sturdy youths. From this moment the very word "Geougen" totally disappears from Chinese history—the Turks absorbed the whole of the Hiung-nu descended tribes; and, although the movements of the Western Turks of the Rivers Oxus and Jaxartes are closely followed by the historians, not a single word is said of any flying Geougen. It is therefore quite unreasonable to suppose that the miserable remains of a people, the whole ruling caste of which was confessedly annihilated in 556 at Si-an Fu, were, or could have been, the Avars who had in 558 already influenced the fortunes of the Slavs and appeared on the political horizon of the West. On the contrary, we are told that in 420-430 the Yüeh-pan were settled north-west of modern Tarbagatai and Ili, and that in 448 the Tobas accepted their offer to assist in attacking the Geougen. The word Yüeh-pan is never once again mentioned in any Chinese history, and both this fact and the evidence of their name point to their being the Avars of 558, who had thus a clear century for emigration movements towards the Danube.

The Western Wei (Tobas) annihilated the Eastern, and Chou was in turn displaced in 581 by a successful Chinese General belonging to the interest of the former family. This

General then founded the Sui dynasty, which in 589 also conquered the Southern or Nanking Empire. China was therefore now reunited, and the second Sui Emperor, a man of fitful and restless energy, carried his arms into Corea, "Turkey" (North Ordos), and Kokonor, personally visiting all those places himself, and sending Ambassadors even by sea to Loochoo and to what is now called Siam. He explicitly aimed at emulating the "First Emperor" (255 B.C.), who had revolutionized and recast the Empire 800 years before him. It is stated of this Sui Emperor that he "was often on the point of opening relations with Fuh-lin." In China it has always been the rule that each succeeding dynasty shall make up into historical form the annals of its predecessor, and under the head of "Persia" the Sui History says: "From Persia you go north-west 4,500 *li* (1,500 miles) to Fuh-lin." The extravagances of the above-mentioned ambitious monarch, which were all crowded into a period of twelve years, brought his dynasty to an ignominious end in 618, and nothing further whatever is said of Fuh-lin in the history of it, which was compiled and published a few years later by the succeeding T'ang dynasty. The above retrospective passage about opening relations occurs in the tenth-century history of the T'ang dynasty, which reigned at Si-an Fu from 618 to 904. This history, which of course simply transcribes the stored-up annals, then relates how Fuh-lin is the same country as the ancient Ta-ts'in, and how the "King," Po-to-lik (? Patriarch) of Fuh-lin had sent an overland mission to China in 643. The celebrated Nestorian stone of Si-an Fu is still plain evidence before our eyes; it explains how the Ta-ts'in monk Olopen came to China to preach the "Sublime" Faith. We possess, in a Chinese work published about 900, the original decree of the Chinese Emperor, dated in 638, authorizing the "Persian" priest Olopen to preach the "Orthodox" Faith, and establish a monastery at Si-an Fu. It has been proved to satiety how the Chinese of those times (and very naturally) often confused the Nes-

torian, Mazdean, Manichean, and possibly other forms of Western religion with "unorthodox" forms of Buddhism and how, in this as in other matters, Persia and Syria were but vaguely differentiated. The fact is, the Chinese themselves never once got beyond the continent of Asia into Europe, of which place they had only hearsay notions; or, if an occasional adventurer ever did so, he never succeeded in acquiring or recording in Chinese distinct conceptions of where the mysterious Ta-ts'in was. The boundaries of the Roman and Persian Empires had been, and were, perpetually shifting, and the eastern people of Ta-ts'in (or first the Roman and then the Eastern Roman Empire) would alone picture to the Chinese imagination the magnificence described to them by Persian and Turkish reports as existing farther west; and it must be remembered the Turks had actually been in Constantinople on a hunt for Avars the year after the Avars had taken prisoner the Frank King Sigibert in Bavaria, whence the Franks subsequently drove the Avars back into Pannonia. Clearly, at about the date A.D. 610, the Chinese must have obtained overland information concerning Fuh-lin, for, as we have seen, a ruler from some eastern part of that ill-defined State actually sent a mission in 643, and China's most adventurous Emperor had left it on record that one generation earlier he had wished to know more of the place.

I take it that Fuh-lin is simply the word Fer-reng, or some such form of the Arab word Afrangh, and I suggest that the first knowledge of the Europeans, subsequent to the vague first-century rumours about Ta-ts'in, was derived by the Chinese through the Avars and Turks. As the French historian Duruy remarks: "*Les Francs avaient en effet apporté de la Germanie une idée qu'on ne connaissait plus dans l'Empire, celle de la souveraineté de la nation. . . . Dagobert (628-638) apparaît-il comme chef de tous les barbares établis dans les provinces de l'ancien empire d'Occident. Il était l'allié des Empereurs de Constantinople, et on le voit intervenir dans les affaires des*

Wisigoths d'Espagne, auxquels il donna un Roi; dans celles des Lombards d'Italie, etc., etc. . . . Enfin ce fut sur la terre des Franks que les Bulgares fugitifs vinrent chercher un asile. . . . La *France romaine* fut vaincue par la *France teutonique*."

The only *national* designation to be then found in Europe, except that of "Roman," was thus "Frank." The Emperors Maurice, Phocas, Constantine III., and Constans were all murdered, and Patriarchs for the Latin Church had only just been established in the Eastern Empire, which circumstance soon led to a schism. We have it on historical record that the Nestorian Olopen came from Ta-ts'in; that the same Olopen is confused with a Persian; that Ta-ts'in was the later Fuh-lin; and that a King (apparently "Patriarch") of Fuh-lin sent a mission a few years after Olopen came to China. We have Yüeh-pan totally disappearing from China; and Avars, a century later, suddenly appearing face to face with Franks in Europe. If this is not sound circumstantial evidence, what is?

I have endeavoured to obtain confirmatory evidence from Arabic scholars in England, but as these efforts have not been very successful, I have during the past two years caused careful inquiry to be made by a relative now resident in Egypt. At last a learned Syrian has been discovered by him at Assouan, and this Syrian gentleman, of whom I know no more than that his name is Shakoor Bey, has replied in writing, categorically, to a number of my questions placed before him, without in the least knowing for what purpose these questions were put, or who put them. This is the sum of his replies: "The Caliph Omar (632-644) in his conquests spoke of Europeans as 'Al Roum,' which term includes 'Afrangh.' In narrating his exploits the Arab writers style Europeans 'Afrangh.' The General Kotaiba, in his Turkestan conquests and fights with the Turks sixty years later, speaks of Europeans as 'Roum' or 'Afrangh'; of Turks as 'Tourk'; of Chinese as 'Sineeyien'; of Persians as 'Firs'; of Greeks as 'Roum.' In modern Egypt the vulgar

Arabs call Europeans 'Nassara' (= Nazarenes or Christians), but educated Arabs call them 'Afrangh' and 'Ouroubaween.' About the beginning of the Mohamadan era, 'Afrangh' means the people who came from France or near it: it is taken from the word 'Frank.' " I know nothing of Arabic, but it is plain that Siné and Ourouba are followed by some plural particle, *yien*, *ween*, akin to that in "fellah-*een*." Some sinologues have imagined that Fuh-lin may stand for  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\omega$  (the city, or Constantinople); others for Beth-lehem, because the Patriarch of Jerusalem was hard by. To me it appears that Frank is the only word we can reasonably accept, and to this day it appears in *folangki*, *p'iling*, *falansi*, and other forms. I have proved this elsewhere.

Returning now to the opening words of this paper, I may observe that if Attila, who succeeded in 433 and died in 453, "insulted and vanquished the Khan of the Geougen, negotiating an alliance with the Empire of China," he must have either himself been the ruler of the Yüeh-pan, or he must have passed back eastwards through Sogd and then through the Yüeh-pan country in order to do it. In 437 the Yüeh-pan sent a mission to North China, and in 448 they offered to assist China against the Geougen. Chinese history gives most precise details of the alternate alliances and fights between the Geougen and the Chinese (Tobas) during this period, mentioning distinctly the part which the Tartar States between Kokonor and Ili took in the war, and the embassies which came from Sogd (said by the Chinese to be 1,600 miles west of the Yüeh-pan), and other Turkestan steppe States under the rule of Hiung-nu Princes. Moreover, as Attila had his hands full in Europe, and China had hers full with the Geougen, it is hard to see how Attila could have vanquished China's enemy, the Geougen, and concluded an alliance with China, without Sogd (Aral region), Yüeh-pan (Balkash region), or China being aware of it; in any case, it could only have been North or Tartar China, South China being as much hidden from the Yüeh-

pan as the Western Roman Empire was from North China. Then, as to Gibbon's perverted story about the Geougen believing the Huns could bring on storms and rain, we have seen that the Geougen (who, like the Turks and Yüeh-pan, were also—at least, in part—Hiung-nu tribes) are themselves believed by China to have possessed this power. As to the "Ogors or Varchonites of the Til," if these are, as Gibbon seems to believe, the Ouigours of the Tula, then these Ouigours are stated by the Chinese to be practically the High Cart tribes of Geougen times (350-550), and the Tölös of Turkish times (550-750), and it is quite certain they never fled far west; for the Western Turks of the Balkash destroyed the Indo-Scythians, and set up a powerful separate empire in the Balkash region, with preponderating influence over Persia and the Pamir steppes, not only keeping back China and the minor Tartar States to their east, but also contesting supreme power with the mighty Eastern Turks. The fact is, Gibbon's sonorous periods make up a striking picture for the imagination to revel in, but they will not endure the light of criticism so far as the Avars are concerned. The recent publications of Elisée Reclus and Albrecht Wirth prove that even our best Continental writers on this subject are only too apt to harp upon the old Jesuit strings, and that a more careful sifting of the solid facts contained in honest Chinese history is required. Gentlemen of Europe, you must learn Chinese.

## SIAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA.\*

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES.)

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S

B.—REMARKS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ART OF CROCKERY-  
MAKING AT SWANKHALÔK.

THE crockery wares of Swankhalôk were made at the place now called *Tuu Tulieng*, i.e., "*Tulleng* Kilns," which lies about two or three miles upstream from Old Swankhalôk, and on the same (right) bank of the river. I went carefully over the place a few years ago, when I found the remains of a large number of kilns. These apparently continued to work until stopped by the Burmese invasions of A.D. 1765-66. Since that date the manufacture of the Swankhalôk crockery has ceased. The honour of starting the industry is, by local tradition, ascribed to old Master *Tulieng* (*Tu-liang*?),† said to be one of the Chinese artisans who came to Siam in King Rûang's train. Hence the site of the kilns was named after him. Heaps of débris of broken pottery are still to be seen about the kilns. The style of fabrication and of glazing is evidently Chinese, and the work was undoubtedly carried on by the descendants of the original Chinese starters of the industry, although Siamese designs were introduced in the course of time. Most of the Swankhalôk wares belong to the *craquelé* type, which constitutes their main distinguishing feature. The crackle is generally wide apart, but on diminutive specimens it is close-set, and well produced, as in the Chinese cracklin wares of the so-called "fish-spawn" or *fruité* pattern. The dominating colour is a creamy, and at times a fallow, white; although celadon—the beautiful sea-green tint so much appreciated in old Chinese porcelains—and deep rosedon also occur. Some specimens present a combination of several brilliant hues—for instance, the *pañca-ranga* vases (in Siamese, *thô beñcharong*), so called from being adorned with representations of expanded lotus flowers exhibiting five different tints. These polychrome wares are, however, uncrackled, and undoubtedly belong to a later period. On the other hand, the white crackled musters and other monochrome specimens seem to have more than one point of analogy with the classical *Kwan-yao* and *Ko-yao* porcelains of the Sung

\* For the previous portions of this paper, see our numbers for October, 1900, pp. 365-394; January, 1901, pp. 155-170; April, 1901, pp. 379-385; and January, 1902, 119-147.

† It is possible that some personal name, such as, for instance, *Tu-liang Tu-lien*, etc., is here implied, although the term seems to me to look more like atonymic, introduced from, and adopted after, some place in China noted for either figuline clay or pottery works. There are, or were, places in China bearing the name of *Tu-liang*, but whether crockery was ever made there or not I am unable to say. On the other hand, the district of *Fu-liang*, very similarly named, has become well known from the fact of the famed King-té-chên potteries being situated within its territory. Sinologists interested in the subject should be able to throw further light on the origin and purport of this curious term *Tuliang*, handed down to us in Siamese oral tradition of ages long passed away.



dynasty, from which they were very likely imitated in the style of glazing, if not in the excellence of the workmanship. The paste is, in fact, comparatively coarse-grained, and the manufactured article thick and heavy, owing to the inferior quality of the prime material that was at hand; but the enamel is not, so far as I can judge, very considerably behind in excellence that of Chinese porcelains, and it is evident that the ingredients entering into its composition were imported from China. It is nevertheless pretty well certain that, but for the lack on the spot of a figuline clay as fine in quality as the famed *kao-lin* to be met with in the neighbourhood of the most renowned ceramic establishments in China, we would have had real porcelain produced at the Swankhalôk factories, just as good in quality as that turned out from the best Chinese pottery works, whereas the Swankhalôk wares, of which specimens remain, cannot be said to rank above the level of common crockery, although some of them may perhaps be classed in the category of soft porcelain, on account of the whitish paste of which they are composed, and the superior quality of the glaze. As regards the shape of the articles, it should be noted that not only bowls, cups, vases and spittoons were made, but also good-sized jars, terminals of pillars and lamp-posts, figures of animals such as *rājasīhas* (lions), etc., wherewith the Buddhist temples in and about Swankhalôk were adorned. Among the heaps of débris lying about the Tu-lieng kilns I discovered a torso of *Garuda* overlaid with green enamel; several mutilated representations of the *hatthilinga* bird (a sort of fabulous vulture with a bill like an elephant's trunk) I picked up amongst the ruins of *Wat Khâu Rang-rèng* (the celebrated monastery of "Vulture-nest Hill"),\* and many other interesting specimens of old Swankhalôk ceramic art I gathered amidst the remains of other Buddhist temples of the ancient city, all of which may now be seen in the Royal Museum at Bāngkōk. The chips of broken crockery to be met with about the Tu-lieng kilns mostly belong to dishes and bowls of a somewhat rough design, glazed with a pale bluish-green crackled enamel recalling to a certain extent the delicate tint of the famed Lung-ch'üan celadons; but the coarseness of the material, as well as the inferiority of the workmanship, concur in indicating that these must be the productions of a later period, when the Swankhalôk factories were far down in the decline. Remains of other kilns are to be met with at other places to the north of the city, this being a proof that the ceramic industry was by no means localized to the Tu-lieng kilns only. The latter formed, however, its most important centre, and the traditional name that remained to the bend in the river's bank close to the bottom of which the kilns are situated, viz., *Khung Tap'hau* (i.e., the "ship of junk's bend") well attests that river-craft used to moor and load the wares here, in the halcyon days

\* This monastery was, according to the "Northern Chronicles," built by King Rùang himself, hence the *hatthilinga* figures probably belong to the period of that King's reign. It seems that it is this same hill which was reputed to have been at one time the resting-place of a gigantic trunk-billed vulture or *hatthilinga*. According to a legend related in the *Camadevī-vainśa*, a Pāli chronicle of Lamp'hūñ brought out to light by me (Section III.), the Risi Sajjanālaya residing at Swankhalôk made use of that monstrous creature in order to fetch from the ocean depths the huge chank-shell which served as a pattern for tracing the outline of the walls of the new Haribhūñjaya city (Lamp'hūñ).

of crockery manufacture, when a populous Siāmo-Chinese village most undoubtedly thrived round about the famed kilns. Local tradition pretends that the craft which frequented this spot were sea-going junks, bringing up merchandise from abroad and taking away the prized products of the kilns to the neighbouring foreign nations, as the name *tap'hau*, usually designating a junk for sea-navigation, implies.\* This tale, however, must be accepted with reserve, for although we have admitted and demonstrated that sea-going craft used in the old days to proceed up the river as far as Sukhōthai, and even, perhaps, Swankhalōk, it is scarcely credible that they could, even at high-water season, ascend the rapids existing abreast of the latter-named city. This feat is now performed only by river-boats of shallow draft, and has become easier of accomplishment during the last sixty years or so; before that the rapids appear to have been far more difficult to cross.† Nevertheless, it seems pretty well certain that a large proportion of the Swankhalōk wares were taken down-country in boats, and some of them exported thence to the southern coast of Indo-China, or carried overland across the watersheds.

#### THE MARTABANI.

Here the much-debated question as to the original place of manufacture of the *Martabani* vases once more comes to the front, as brisk and intricate as ever it was. So much has been written about it, mostly by "arm-chair" Oriental scholars of our Western world, that we cannot afford to pass it unnoticed, as it directly bears upon the subject now under discussion. After due perusal of the principal arguments‡ brought forward by either of the parties engaged in the controversy as to the origin of the *Martabani* celadon dishes, tending on the one side to claim them as having been manufactured in China, and thence exported by the early traders to the Indian or Arabian countries, where they became so celebrated, and on the other to prove that they must have been made at some place in Indo-China not far away from Martaban, whence they got their name. I am, on the whole, strongly inclined to side with Professor Karabacek, of Vienna, who has been the propounder and chief upholder of the latter view. The passage he quotes from the celebrated encyclopædist Haji Khalfa, who died in A.D. 1658, to the effect that "the precious, magnifi-

\* *Tap'hau*, often spelled *Samp'hau*, seems to be a comparatively modern Siamese term derived from the Chinese word (*po, p'ao, boh*, etc.), denoting an ocean-going junk. *Ta* and *Sam* are prefixes, the latter standing very likely for (*ch'wan, sung, shon*, etc.), the Chinese generic name for a boat, ship, etc.

† Rafts of teak-timber do, of course, shoot the rapids during the high-water season, having to stop from about October to July each year, when the rapids become impassable. The rapids termed *Kēng Lulang*, situated abreast of the old palace, are the most difficult to cross; a half-mile further below there are the rapids named *Kēng Sāk*. The former are constituted by a quartz reef forming a barrier running across the river, and causing its waters to fall for about 9 feet.

‡ Chiefly as summed up in an able article on "Ancient Porcelain," published by Dr. Hirth in the *Journal, China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxii. (1887), p. 150 *et seq.*, on which my criticisms had to be based, not having access in this far-away land to the original publications of the parties concerned in the controversy.

cent celadon dishes and other vessels seen in his time were manufactured and exported at Martaban in Pegu," seems to me most decisive, although I believe that a mistake was made by its author in confounding Martaban, the port of shipment, with their place of origin. The latter, I am fain to think, was almost undoubtedly Swankhalôk, the only place I know of in Indo-China where glazed pottery closely approaching Chinese porcelain of the most classical pattern was ever manufactured. Truly, there appear to be two widely different kinds of wares to which the term *Martabani* was applied: \* one, according to Jacquemart, presenting a thin, bright green glaze, overlaying a very white biscuit, which allows the light to appear through, and constituting, in the opinion of Professor Karabacek, the finest celadon porcelain to be met with throughout the Muslimic Orient; the other typified especially, in the words of the same authority, by the "large, heavy, thick, green celadon dishes with the well-known ferruginous ring on the bottom, which have been found spread over all the countries of Arab civilization." Now, it is this latter kind which seems to possess the chief characteristics common to the Swankhalôk wares, and which very probably will some day, when an exhaustive examination and comparison has been instituted by experts, be identified with them. As to the superior class of the *Martabani* first described, they

\* Even *three* kinds, if we include under this denomination the large-sized glazed jars, also called *Martabani*, but better known as "Pegu jars," which were famous all over the East for many centuries (see Yule-Burnell Glossary, p. 428). These were and are still chiefly made at Twanté and neighbouring places of the coast of Pegu, and although glazed they have nothing to do with Swankhalôk wares and the class of pottery (celadon dishes, etc.) forming the object of the present discussion; hence I have refrained from dealing with them in the following pages. I cannot help, at the same time, calling attention here to the fact that this vague term *Martabani* has been made to cover, or designated at different periods, several quite distinct kinds of pottery, ranging from common glazed earthenware to the very finest porcelain; thence, I think, a good deal of confusion has arisen as to the class of vessels that are more properly implied. On this subject authorities vary very considerably. Dulaurier, for instance, quotes from Father Azar, a Maronite, that *Martaban* means a casket or vase for keeping medicines and comfits, etc. But Colonel Yule observes ("Cathay," vol. ii., p. 476) the word is used for the great vessels of glazed pottery called *Pegu* or *Martaban jars* from the places where they were purchased, and which retained a wide renown up to the present [nineteenth] century. These are likewise the "great pottes of Martavan" mentioned by Linschoten (see Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 33), in which palm-wine from the *Nipa*, or *attap*-palm, "was carried from Tenasserim to all places in India"; and also the large *black-glazed* jars to which Barbosa devotes the passage rendered by Ramusio Navigazioni, etc., vol. i., p. 317 a, of the 1563 edition), as follows: "Si lavorano in questo luogo di Martabane grandissimi vasi di porcellana bellissimi e invetriati di color negro, havuti i sommo pregio appresso li Mori: li quali gli levano di qui, come la maggior mercantia che possono havere." Now, these products of an undoubtedly local industry have nothing to do, it seems to me, with the "caskets or vases for keeping medicines," described by Father Azar, and less still with the celadon porcelain vessels known to the Muslimic Orient under the name of *Martabani*, which were certainly not manufactured at the same places where Pegu jars were turned out, and cannot in any way be classed with them. It is with this class of the superior—and perhaps older in date or style—*Martabani* that we propose to concern ourselves in the present discussion, and it will be now seen how necessary it was to draw a line of distinction between the so varied kinds of the wares so named, in order to avoid the confusion that has been made by many of the authorities who treated the subject.

may have been really manufactured in China, and it is possible that in the course of time—when coarse imitations were made of them in Siām and shipped to Muslimic countries by way of Martaban, becoming thus known by the name of *Martabani*—this same term was applied on account of many points of resemblance to the genuine old Chinese celadons, to the specimens of these articles that had long before that found their way from China to the Muslimic world. It may be also possible, on the other hand, that this superior class of porcelain was, in the early days of the initial establishment of the Chinese ceramic industry at Swankhalôk, manufactured at the latter place as well, its production being afterwards discontinued through decline of the art amongst the Sino-Siamese descendants of the original starters of that industry. Hence the early thin and transparent *Martabani*, so appreciated for their excellence of material and workmanship, would be superseded by gradually coarser products, as the art went on declining in inexperienced hands, and the secret of the production of the original superior articles became perhaps lost for ever. This latter hypothesis cannot be maintained, however, until some specimen of ancient Swankhalôk wares is found, resembling to some extent in excellency the superior class of the *Martabani*. We accordingly adhere for the present to the view put forward at the outset, ascribing the paternity of the first-rate *Martabani* to China, and the merit of the creation of their inferior imitations to Siām, with Martaban as the port of shipment. This manner of viewing the question agrees, it will be seen, in a literal sense with the opinion expressed by the sinologist side, who claim the product as being of Chinese manufacture, but with the essential difference that, although turned out by Chinese artisans, it is believed by us to have been made in Siām, and not in the Flowery Land. At the same time it tends to strengthen the position taken by Professor Karabacek, who qualifies as a prejudice the idea that during the Middle Ages China was the only country where porcelain was manufactured. But where does Dr. A. B. Meyer, of the Dresden Ethnological Museum—the most *acharné* of Professor Karabacek's opponents—come in with his exclusive theory of the absolute origin on Chinese soil of indistinctly all the classes of *Martabani* vessels, based on the mere negative as well as startling premise that no evidence can be brought forward to show that real porcelain was made at Maulmein (Martaban), Rangoon, or Bangkok [! !]? He might have included Chölon (Saigon) as well in his indictment, thus completing the list of the places most noted to residents in Indo-China for the confection of bricks, and cooking-pots, and water-jars of red earthenware, where no one would certainly dream—in view of the low alluvial character of the soil—of looking for the production of articles in any respect approaching to porcelain. But the most curious of it all is that the worthy doctor—as a friend of mine afterwards informed me—being apprised of my discovery, in the course of my archæological explorations of the country in and about Swankhalôk, of a number of kilns whence glazed wares closely resembling, especially in the style of manufacture and enamelling, the old classical Chinese porcelains were turned out, still persisted in his opinion that positively nothing of the kind was ever produced in Indo-China. My object

in penning these lines is not to refute one-sided views of "arm-chair" professors who discourse on topics connected with Far Eastern countries, taking for their chief basis what is said—and too often left unsaid—in superficial and out-of-date books on these lands, to so large an extent still mysterious to us. My aim is, on the other hand, to simply call attention to the fact of the well-authenticated existence in Siam, despite all theoretical demonstrations to the contrary, of ceramic works where glazed wares were manufactured originally by Chinese artisans in imitation of the Chinese porcelains, which fact, so far almost unknown, and in any case as yet totally unproved before my investigations, may contribute to solve the as yet unsettled question as to the real origin of the mysterious *Martabani* vessels.

Two points still remain to be touched upon before dismissing the subject. The first regards the fluted pattern, so often met with in *Martabani* celadons, which Professor Karabacek regards as characteristic of Siamese origin, and holds to be a specific ornament of Siamese civilization. In this, I am sorry to say, he is completely mistaken; for not only does not the fluted or *radialstreifen* pattern, as he terms it, occur in Swankhalök and other wares of local manufacture, but is not even, or hardly ever, met with in other works of Siamese art except very modern ones where it was undoubtedly imitated from Chinese models. I am therefore disposed to regard it, with Dr. Hirth,\* as peculiar to Chinese porcelains. What must have induced Professor Karabacek to err was having found it in modern so-called "Siamese" crockery "made in China."

The next point concerns certain marks that Professor Karabacek has seen engraved on the bottom of some of the celadon dishes in dispute, and which he declared to be of Siamese origin, while Dr. Meyer—backed in this by Dr. Hirth—attempts to explain them, not a little unsuccessfully, by means of Chinese hieroglyphs. Here are the three marks forming the subject of the debate: 人 66 J. "Of these," says Dr. Hirth,† "the first is admitted to strongly resemble the sign used in the Chinese running-hand style for *liu*, six. The third one has a decided similarity to Chinese, the running-hand sign for *wu*, five. The middle one is explained by Professor Karabacek as representing the letter L in the Peguan alphabet; however, this says not much, since the mark is especially described as *tief eingegraben, mit ausgezackten Rändern*, which seems to be a strong hint as to its having nothing to do with the manufacture of the dish, since an owner's mark drilled or chiselled into the hard paste after the completion of a vessel, may have been made at any time and in any country." This may be very well for sinologists, but for outsiders it does not require, I think, much reflection to see the puerility of the suggestion made as regards the identity of the first mark. The Chinese running-hand form of the number six is 𠂇, and this scarcely bears comparison with the mark in question, which looks almost exactly like an inverted pall or Y, each of whose three branches is formed of four circlets or dots, making twelve

\* *Loc. cit.*, p. 154.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 156.

altogether. This system of representation by means of circlets is commonly employed in Siām and neighbouring countries to depict the stars occurring in the *nakṣatras* or lunar asterisms, according to local astrological ideas. Although none of the asterisms figured in native astrologic treatises exactly resembles mark No. 1, the nearest to it, if taken in an inverted form, being *Uttarāṣāḍhā*, represented as ☿ and assigned as a horoscopic constellation to Maulmein, it is quite plain that that mark is either a symbol or a diagram of some mystic meaning, mayhap even a trade-mark; but not certainly a letter, nor a numerical figure. The only Oriental letters resembling it closely are, perhaps, the *Λ*, or *z*, of the Asóka pillar inscriptions (third century B.C.) and the *h* or *g*, of the Northern Chēra character of the tenth century A.D.\* As regards the third mark, its resemblance to the Chinese running-hand sign for five is more than problematic, since the latter is more generally represented in the form 5. It may be much more favourably compared to the modern Siānese numeral six, written 6, whose ancient form was 6 in both Siānese and Lāu inscriptions; or else, if reversed, to the Mōñ 9, the sign for four. The second mark corresponds to the letter L not only in the Peguan (Mōñ) alphabet, as Professor Karabacek says, but also in several other Indo-Chinese alphabets, as well as in ancient Tamil writing (*circa* 1080 A.D.);† while, on the other hand, it very closely resembles the Lāu numeral nine, represented as 9. There is, therefore, not the slightest ground for assigning a Chinese origin to either of the three marks in question; on the contrary, the weight of evidence points towards their having been made in either Eastern Pegu or Northern Siām, the places whence the celadon dishes bearing them were exported, and where very probably also they were, at least in part, manufactured.

Anent the possibility of the Swankhalôk wares finding their way overland to the Gulf of Martaban, there cannot be the slightest doubt, in view of the very explicit statement made by William Methold to the effect that chinaware (which very likely included also the Siānese products) was conveyed by this means to Tenasserim. Speaking of the trade of the seaport just named in A.D. 1619, Methold says, in fact, that the merchants of Golconda brought thither various products, "and landing them at Tenassery, carry them from thence to Siām, fourteen days' journey overland, from whence, by the like conveyance, they bring all sorts of China commodities, as porcelain, satins, damasks," etc.‡ It follows quite plainly from this passage, which appears to have escaped the attention of the parties engaged in the *Martabani* controversy, that the vessels or dishes so-named found their way to Tenasserim, and naturally also to Martaban, whether they had been made in China or Siām, along with many other kinds of porcelain and other products of Chinese manufacture, and were shipped thence together with Pegu jars and other glazed

\* As represented in Burnell's "Elements of South Indian Palæography," second edition, Plate XI.

† See *ibid.*, Plate XVIII.

‡ See Purchas, vol. v., 1826, pp. 993-1007, quoted in Anderson's "English Intercourse," etc., p. 40.

earthenware of local make. This must be the reason, then, why under the term *Martabani* came to be included a motley variety of pottery, the grossest class of which only was produced locally, while the best kind was either of genuine Chinese make imported thither second-hand through Siām, or consisted of imperfect imitations of the latter, manufactured by Chinese or Chino-Siānese artisans, in Siām itself. With these explanations, which it is hoped will in some measure contribute to the solution of the complex *Martabani* question, and lead in any case to the recognition of the share that Siām almost undoubtedly had in the manufacture of some of such vessels, I now return to the main subject of the present note.

(*To be continued.*)

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on Tuesday, January 28, 1902, a paper was read by Alexander Rogers, Esq. (late Member of Council, Bombay), on "The Spread of the Municipal Idea in India." Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following among others were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Dewan Bahadur V. M. Samnath, Mr. David Duncan, LL.D., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Gawthrop, Mr. Vishvanath P. Vaidyar, Mr. Reginald Nevill, Mr. Wagle, Mr. F. D. White, Mr. A. Kinlock, Mr. M. D. Sheikh, Mr. G. R. Misra, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The paper was read.\*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are all very much obliged to Mr. Rogers for this interesting paper. It is of particular interest to me because throughout my service in Bengal, almost from first to last, I was more or less concerned with municipalities as chairman or vice-chairman, or as simple member, or as being charged with the duty of supervising the municipalities of the district or of a Commissioner's division. I am prepared to agree generally with the remarks which Mr. Rogers has made, and with those which he has quoted from Sir Mackworth Young. I agree with Mr. Rogers in thinking that the matter of the village communities has been worked a little too hard. I do not think that our Government has really done very much to suppress them, and I do not think that these village communities are the real origin of the municipalities as they now are. In Bengal, at any rate, municipal institutions have spread rather from the top downwards. It is natural that wants beyond those of mere watch and ward by policemen should be most felt in the biggest places. I think, taking the municipalities as a whole, their real origin lies in the association of the inhabitants for police, and watch, and ward. In the country municipalities it was found that a surplus could be collected which could be usefully spent in town or village works, and by degrees, instead of such works being the utilization of a mere surplus, they became a main object, if not the main object of the municipality, and eventually other public services were added. But even in the great city of Calcutta it is only within the last few years that the office of Chief Commissioner of Police has been separated from that of Chairman of the Municipality. I do not myself altogether agree with the opinion that one of the principal reasons for pressing municipal institutions on India was that in them would be found scope for useful employment of superfluous local energy. I am, of course, aware that when Lord Ripon was Viceroy stress was laid on the extension of local self-government as a means of political education. I think, however, that

\* See the paper elsewhere in this *Review*.



that must be taken to be a secondary object, if an avowed object at all. The primary object appears to be to provide for the actual physical necessities of the time and place. No doubt providing for those physical necessities affords the means of political education, but it is the provision for the necessities that is the main object, and the political education is merely incidental. It is very difficult to express one's self otherwise than rather vaguely on the subject of the efficiency of municipalities, since they vary so very much in this respect, as well as in their several conditions and needs. Take Calcutta, for instance, a city which contains, say, 600,000 inhabitants, besides the inhabitants of the municipalities which border it. There we have a numerous and highly intelligent European population, as well as the leaders of native society, even many of those whose land and estates lie far away; and there are many professional people—pleaders, doctors, and other educated and intelligent men. So, obviously, in such a place you have the *personnel* required for efficient Commissioners. And beyond doubt in Calcutta an enormous amount of valuable work has been done during some forty years for which I have known that city. The people who left it at the time when I first arrived there would hardly know it now. If you take the country municipalities, there are some of them which are the headquarters of districts or divisions. There also you find a certain number, varying in different places, of intelligent and well-educated people. Again, you find small municipalities in which you have merely the local inhabitants to depend upon. Amongst these different classes, again, you find many varieties. Obviously, then, it is difficult to say broadly whether municipalities are efficient or not. I think it may be said that some are very efficient; others, the great bulk, fairly so; and some few are inefficient. In the smaller municipalities one thing which sometimes tends towards inefficiency in Bengal is the prevalence occasionally of what they call in Bengal *dālā-dālī*, or the party spirit. Small municipalities, as a rule, are at some distance from the official headquarters, and they want the guidance that an official chairman could give them. In judging of municipalities in India, as well as in forming other judgments regarding India, I cannot help thinking that sometimes we are apt to raise rather too high a standard. (Hear, hear.) I think when we see defects—real defects, it is true—we are apt to regard them as peculiar to the race, or to the place where we find them. We need go no further than this very great city itself to find serious defects. For instance, what do we see every day when we travel half a mile? The roads half up, and blocks, and stagnation. This is as large a defect in city administration as one can find even in the worst-managed municipality in India. The next matter I would notice is Mr. Rogers' recommendation that encouragement should be given to active and conscientious members of the municipalities. I quite agree with this. In Bengal the suggestion has been anticipated to a very considerable extent, for meritorious service is appreciated and acknowledged. In those remarks which have been quoted from Sir Mackworth Young, I notice it is said that at times little interest is shown at municipal elections. I know when I was in India, whenever there was little or no competition for seats on municipal

boards, it was regarded as evident and conclusive proof that little interest was taken in the matter. But that, again, I think, is going too far, for in my experience it has not infrequently happened that the one candidate for a seat has been so clearly and incontestably the best man for it that others have not come forward to fight. Far from that being a bad thing, it seemed to me rather a good thing. The same complaint of apathy, I may say by the way, has been made in London regarding the last local elections. When we are disposed to complain of the absence of whole-some public spirit, we should be reasonable, and not expect every man to be public-spirited. The essential of representative institutions is rather that by their help we insure that the foot that is pinched by the shoe shall make its pains felt till a better-fitting shoe is found. Municipalities are cut up into wards, the wards have their representatives, and the selfish feeling, if you like to call it so, of the wards themselves helps to pull things straight. It is something like a mechanical problem where you have different forces acting in different directions, and the result of these different forces is equilibrium. Mr. Rogers has recommended the aggregation of villages into groups. That is done to a certain extent in Bengal; and, indeed, some of the larger municipalities enclose rather wide areas in order to obtain the advantages which he desires. On the other hand, it is sometimes found necessary to subdivide and decentralize; for instance, it has lately been found desirable to decentralize in Calcutta itself, and now experiments are being tried, the town being divided into districts for the purposes of engineering and conservancy works. From the papers I gather that the experiments are so far successful, as I think one would expect them to be. There is less fear that particularly influential or powerfully represented tracts should have too great an advantage. I do not know whether I should be prepared in the country municipalities, at any rate, to advise that fees should be given for municipal work, because, if my theory of representation is correct, the representatives would be receiving fees for looking after their own interests, and that seems scarcely necessary. I do agree with Mr. Rogers in hoping that in course of time the powers of the local municipal officers may be increased, and that petty civil and criminal disputes may be settled by them. I entirely concur with him in wishing that there may be no undue hurry. It is never so difficult to move forward as it is to move backwards, and a retrograde step is always a pity. If progress is pushed too far and prematurely, people are naturally anxious not to undo what has been done, and the usual consequence is that the reconsideration is difficult and is unwelcome to some class or other, and thus there is less efficiency in the end. We should go from step to step, making the achievements of the past the foundation for future progress. (Applause.)

MR. STURROCK was in general agreement with what had been said by Mr. Rogers, and the few points on which he was inclined to differ had been fully anticipated by the Chairman in his remarks. The old village institutions were certainly of use in their day, but the time of their usefulness had passed, and they must go the way of all institutions which had served their time, and served it well. He was hardly inclined to take so

desponding a view as Mr. Rogers had taken as to how far things were working satisfactorily. The municipalities of Madras with which he was acquainted were doing very much better work than had been anticipated by many ; and in the reports which had been quoted he did not think there was much room for condemnation. In Madras, out of sixty municipalities, only two were considered unsatisfactory, and although in nine more it was said the administration was not efficient, still, that was only eleven as against sixteen which were absolutely good. Of the remaining thirty-three more than half were considered fairly satisfactory. With reference to the point as to efficiency being tested by the attendance of councillors, he was sorry there was nothing to show how far in this country the attendance of councillors was good or bad. Possibly those meetings which were adjourned for want of a quorum were on subjects of no very great importance, and the number, after all, was only 10 per cent. With reference to the suggestion that marks of honour should be given to those who did good municipal work, to his knowledge that was done now in the Madras Presidency. Regarding the suggestion that larger municipal centres should be created in rural tracts, there were in Madras, besides the municipalities in the towns, a number of villages created into unions, with certain portions of the work of the district boards, chiefly sanitary, entrusted to them ; so that in fact Mr. Rogers' suggestion had been anticipated.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN said that he approved of the lecturer's recommendation that the powers of local bodies should be extended, but he observed that this recommendation was subject to a condition precedent, the condition being that there should be a previous creation of local public spirit. It appeared to him that this was rather putting the cart before the horse, because the best way of creating local public spirit was to give the local bodies some real power in the management of their affairs. Where there was some real power there came the feeling of responsibility, and that was followed by active work. There was a complaint that the attendance at meetings was not sufficiently regular, but in no country would people give up their time unless they felt that they could do some good by their attendance. The remedy therefore seemed to be to give the local bodies a larger administrative and financial control. That would provide them with scope for their energies, and develop the public spirit which was desired. Reference had been made to the remarks of Sir Mackworth Young regarding the objects of Lord Ripon's local self-government scheme. That scheme was primarily intended to benefit the country and to have an educational effect ; but no doubt an additional object was to relieve the overburdened official machinery. This was a very important object, and had far-reaching effects. For they all knew that the English officials in India were overworked, and had to entrust the details of administration to subordinates. Owing to financial pressure, the pay of large classes of these subordinates was very inadequate, so that it was difficult to secure men of good character. The consequence of this was that the lowest grades of police and other departments had great opportunities of oppression. The object of the local self-government scheme was to transfer these details of

administration from the low-paid official subordinates to the respectable citizens and villagers. He believed that the work would thus be better done, while the people would be more contented. Also English officials, being relieved from much detail, would have leisure to mix more with the people and to learn their wants and wishes ; and the result would be that our rule would become more popular. As regarded the ancient village system, he must express his respectful concurrence with such authorities as Sir Henry Maine, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Sir James Caird, who regarded this system as the sheet-anchor of Indian rural society.

MR. PETRE said that, though all must lament the disappearance of the village communities, and the consequent loss of a great deal of assistance which might have been gained from them, especially in the matter of police and the disposal of small civil suits, he did not see that the question of village communities very much affected that of municipalities. In all the areas in which municipalities could possibly be started the village communities had practically disappeared ; the towns were too large for them to survive in. With regard to relieving the pressure of work on European officials, he thought something might be done, and was being done, in appointing village Moonsifs. He had had a great deal of experience of municipalities in the North-West Provinces. They were of all degrees and qualities, from the large municipalities like Lucknow and Allahabad, where there was a great deal of intelligence available, to smaller outlying towns, where much could not be expected. If a railway wanted a new engine-driver, they did not take the first man they met in the street, but they took a man who was to a certain extent trained, and let him drive under the supervision of a trained man for some time. In most Indian municipalities the community was not yet ripe to drive its own engine. They wanted to be educated, and to work under official supervision for some years. The Chairman had said that there was a desire to go in, in too great a hurry. People had not been long at municipal work in India. Fifty years ago it was hardly known, and he would like to know what municipalities even in England were fifty years ago. There was even now much that was bad and uncleanly in the management of London, which was very much behind Paris, for instance. In the Indian municipalities the time had not come for non-official chairmen, although in the only instance in the North-West Provinces in which there was a non-official chairman he was an exceptional man and had done well.

MR. WAGLE confessed a certain amount of disappointment with the paper, and with the conclusions drawn by Mr. Rogers from the statistics. He had heard the opinions of many who were capable of forming them, and they were that the results were most satisfactory under the peculiar circumstances of the country. The absence of members at meetings was a grievance which was common to the whole world. The presence of the members of that Association that afternoon might be taken as an illustration. (Laughter.) Now, the reason of the absence of members on the municipalities was the feeling that very little power was left in their hands. The difference between city municipalities and country municipalities had been mentioned at that meeting. How was it they found the Indian members of city municipalities so

keen in the discharge of their duties and so regular in their attendance? The reason was that they enjoyed more power than was allowed to the country municipalities. It had been considered a grievance that even a resolution which had been carried unanimously by country municipalities could be set aside by the Commissioner without assigning any reason. He thought the idea of relieving the Government official by means of the municipalities had been carried too far. The municipalities had been burdened with duties which they could not to a certain extent discharge within their financial resources. He referred to the burden of primary education. He thought a great part of the money thus spent ought to be provided by the Imperial Treasury. Certainly the key of the whole thing was to make the member feel that his position was more important, and carried more power and influence with it.

MR. ROGERS was glad to find that the remarks made by members present were very much in accord with his own opinions. His object in writing the paper was to show the actual state of affairs. He was by no means opposed to the spread of municipal institutions; in fact, he wanted them promoted in every possible way. His suggestion as to conferring honorary titles upon those who took an interest in them and did their work properly was for the purpose of fostering those institutions.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Rogers, said there were one or two further remarks which he would like to make. He did not think the attendance of members at meetings was absolutely conclusive as to the interest taken by the members in municipal work, because a good deal of the work was done outside the meetings. There were investigations and reports, and other things, none of which appeared in the statistics. He had himself, as chairman, always endeavoured to get a great deal of that sort of work done through the Commissioners outside the meetings. In one municipality he had reported in favour of the adoption of the elective system. Many of the formerly nominated members were elected by the ratepayers, but there came in a small element of enterprising active men, who for the first time undertook municipal work. At first those gentlemen felt as so many people are apt to feel, that the executive was bound to be wrong, and they opposed them with a little acerbity. He, however, took an early opportunity of putting this right, one of his modes being to give work of the kind mentioned, investigations and reports, to some of the new members, because he wished to turn their energy to good account. He would be sorry if anything he had said should lead anyone to believe that he would discourage municipalities or any other self-governing institutions. On the contrary, he had always been in favour of making them elective wherever the conditions might allow. In particular he might mention the instance of the late "Suburban" municipality, a huge area containing 250,000 inhabitants, which has since been broken up, and the most populous portions merged in the present Calcutta municipality. Here the result was certainly good. As to the relief of officials, he agreed that municipalities ought to do a vast amount of detail work which officials, whose work in India in other directions was constantly increasing, could not do efficiently and ought not to be expected to do; but, at the same time, it must

be remembered that even the municipalities themselves sometimes give the officials a great deal of work. Where things are not going smoothly, and charges and countercharges are freely bought by excited partisans, the official is expected to go down and do justice between the parties. It is very much less troublesome for an official chairman by a phrase or two to stop a dispute orally than to inquire into and adjudicate on it when it has occurred. This is certainly a case in which it is easier to prevent than to cure. Under any circumstances, a considerable load of responsibility and labour rests on those who have to watch, and sometimes to control, municipalities.

The vote of thanks to Mr. Rogers was then put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding was put by Mr. Pennington, and carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

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At another meeting held at Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, February 10, 1902, a paper was read by J. B. Pennington, Esq., B.L. (Madras Civil Service, retired), on "The Indian Civil Service, and the Further Admission of Natives of India," the Hon. Percy Wyndham in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., the Hon. Mrs. Mure, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel Hutchins, Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., Mr. W. Coldstream, Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Ince, M.D., Mr. J. F. and Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. Arathoon, Mr. Nilkant B. Wagle, Mr. Drury Pennington, Mr. V. M. Samarth, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Allbless, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. R. Clark, Mr. Nanabhai D. Daru, Mr. E. le B. Martin, Mr. R. D. Perestman, Mr. J. O. Millar, Mr. P. C. Lobo, Mr. J. F. Brown, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. Mayer Rao, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Pennington, the paper was read.\*

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, after the paper was read, said it seemed to him less alarming than he had imagined it might be, and he did not find very much to which he could take objection. It seemed to resolve itself into a mere question of political economy, of expediency, and the question of fact—namely, what is the number of English Civil Servants necessary to rightly and securely carry on the Administration of India? He had lately read several books which endeavoured to make out that British government was a failure, that India was being exploited for the sole benefit of England, and that their whole administration was a calamitous mistake. Any Indian gentleman would know that those books were founded on exaggeration—grotesque exaggeration; and he thought that everyone who had lived in India must admit that the intentions of the Government towards our Indian fellow-subjects were both liberal and beneficent. (Hear, hear.) He did not disagree with Mr. Pennington when he said that they should open in every legitimate way the doors of the Services to all their deserving fellow-subjects in India. He himself desired that, as heartily as any Indian

\* See the paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

gentleman in the room could do. The question of competency for executive, far more than for judicial appointments, must be determined by the Government of India itself, and by the heads of local governments. They could not force upon Governors and Lieutenant-Governors feeble, incompetent men for the executive charge of districts, whose conduct on the Punjab frontier or elsewhere, would be open to a description such as that given by Mr. Rudyard Kipling in one of his famous stories. The local governments must decide this question of competency, but subject to that, he thought every civilian present would most heartily welcome the generous sentiments of the lecturer, and would desire that, so far as was consistent with safety, all appointments should be open to Indian gentlemen.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said that doubtless a certain amount of European civil agency in India was necessary, in order to preserve the British connection. But some good system of recruitment and distribution should be adopted, so that the agency should be of the best quality, that there should not be more of it than absolutely necessary, and that the Government of India should be able to employ it in those provinces and departments where it would be most useful. Also it was desirable to prevent the unseemly struggle, which so often took place, when a vacancy occurred for which both Europeans and Indians were candidates. He thought that the scheme sketched out in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure would have this effect. The proposed method was suggested by the existing arrangement for the Royal Engineers, when serving in the Public Works Department in India. A young man obtaining his commission in the Royal Engineers occupied a position in a close seniority service. If he went out to India as a Lieutenant or a Captain, and was appointed an Executive Engineer, he drew the pay of his rank, as a personal allowance, plus the pay of an Executive Engineer. An outsider appointed to a similar post drew only the pay of the appointment and no personal allowance. Similarly the prize in the open competition for the Covenanted Civil Service should be simply entry into a close seniority service, enjoying personal pay according to the number of years of service. This would represent compensation for exile, and the retaining fee which bound him to be at the orders of the Government. When he was appointed to any post he would draw the pay of that post plus the pay of his rank. The result of this arrangement would be that the pay of all appointments in India could be reduced to the ordinary market value, and all civil appointments would be held by Indians except those held by the limited number of Covenanted European civilians who came out every year. It would be the duty of the Government each year carefully to consider the smallest number for their requirements, so that no more of this expensive agency should be recruited than was absolutely necessary. Then as regards distribution, the lecturer had pointed out that in the quieter districts the highest judicial and educational appointments might be held by Indians, while Sir Lepel Griffin had urged that in turbulent frontier districts Europeans were necessary for executive posts. This could be met by having a maximum budget allotment for European officers, who might be employed in the provinces and departments as seemed best for

the public service. If Government wanted, for example, to create two new appointments for Europeans in the new Frontier Province, they could make room for them in their budget allotment by appointing two Indian District Judges in Madras and Bombay. This system, he thought, would effect a large saving, would give Government a convenient elasticity in the selection of their officers, and would secure automatically to Indians a due share of posts in their own country, without in each case having a struggle which produced an unhappy estrangement between European civil officers and educated Indians.

MR. J. D. REES was decidedly for the further employment, as far as compatible with safety, of the Indian element in India. It gave him great pleasure to criticise Mr. Pennington, who was his master in India some time ago, as thus he partook of all the pleasures of insubordination. It was with great satisfaction he saw that Mr. Pennington had secured as president of that meeting a gentleman unconnected with India. He thought it important occasionally to have a gentleman from outside the Indian world, like Mr. Wyndham, to preside. It brought the Association more into relation with the public, who saw that they were not a mere clique of Orientals, but that they had the sympathy and countenance of Englishmen of position and experience. He was sorry to see that Mr. Pennington in his paper contemplated that the English democracy might retire from India. That he did not think at all likely. He did not think this subject should be considered in the light of educating the natives to take the Englishmen's places, but that the Englishmen were giving the Indians as a measure of justice, and to the utmost possible degree, a share in the government of their own country. He would not prescribe any minimum of Europeans, or indeed any maximum. He would appoint a native to every appointment which it was possible and advantageous for him to hold. As Sir William Wedderburn had said, that might entail an official fight for every appointment, but he did not know that people ever came to blows over such matters, and he did not see how it was to be avoided. Mr. Pennington had referred to the judicial appointments. If natives were, as they knew they were, fit to adorn the benches of the High Courts, why should not they be fit to fill the office of District Judge in every quiet and settled district of India? They knew as a fact that in the average Indian district it was the Indian Subordinate Judge on £500 a year who disposed of all the difficult civil work, corresponding to the work done in the English High Courts of Justice. An English Judge getting four or five times the Subordinate Judge's salary, however, was too often engaged in deciding mere rule-of-thumb criminal cases. Sir William Wedderburn had said that Englishmen were now getting too much pay, since they no longer needed to be paid as miserable exiles. Surely native gentlemen should be willing to serve for less pay than men who came 6,000 or 7,000 miles, and should accept office at 40 or 50 per cent. less pay than Englishmen got. Mr. Pennington had looked upon the journey home, which he said was necessary, as a test of enterprise, and he was therefore opposed to the simultaneous examination. He ventured entirely to disagree with that. He thought the very best servant to India in India



was a man who had never been in England. If this journey were to be made a test it would rule out the best people in India. It was not necessary to know English to administer justice in India. One of the most serious faults of the Government was that it did not encourage Civil Servants to learn the languages ; a man never got put forward because he was a linguist. Mr. Pennington had quoted the proclamation to the effect that as far as might be the Indians were to be appointed to such posts as they were fit for, and had emphasized the words "as far as might be"; and he had referred to Lord Lytton, but Lord Lytton read the words "as far as may be" to mean that Indians were to be put forward wherever fit. He thought it would be a very good thing for India if they were put forward a great deal more frequently for higher offices ; not necessarily in the same way in all Provinces. India should not be treated for this purpose as one country any more than Europe should be treated as one country. In Madras, for instance, they might be put forward much more than on the Punjab frontier. The proclamation should be given far more effect to in provinces which were quiet. Mr. Pennington had spoken of the exaggerations of the writers of recent books. He thought they did very much exaggerate. Mr. Digby, for instance, when it suited his purpose, made light of the official statistics, but on other occasions he professed to refute the Government by means of those same figures. Sir William Wedderburn had referred to the Engineering Department. He thought the Indians were less suited for that than for other departments, but he remembered an Indian engineer of much resource who met a bear in the hills. He said, "I immediately calculated my powers of resistance by Hodgkinson's tables, and, finding them insufficient, I fled."

The CHAIRMAN read the following remarks by Mr. Thorburn, who was unable to be present : "I should have supported you in your object, but on the ground that the demand of educated India to be tried in more and higher appointments cannot long be resisted. We turn out 6,000 graduates annually. I should have suggested Madras as the best field for the experiment, as it is most advanced in education, and fewest racial, religious, or political difficulties are to be found there."

MR. MARTIN WOOD desired to recall the historical position of the question. The special claim of Indians to become members of the Civil Service was brought up by Henry Fawcett, who strongly urged that there could be no really open competition as long as the examinations were entirely carried on in England. He at that time was not able to follow Mr. Fawcett, because there had been no provision as to residence in this country, but since then that had been admitted as essential. One of the speakers had said that natives of India were in some respects much better for not coming to England. The next step was Victorian Scholarships to enable natives to come to this country for examinations, and then there was a system of Statutory Civilians set up, who were to be examined in India. That, of course, was quite inconsistent with the principle of open competition. As a result of the Provincial Services Commission, the Provincial Service was established, and that, too, was inconsistent with the principle of open competition. He thought the time had come for a revision of the

question. Much had been done to define the matter in point of principle. He had heard much with regard to the proportion of Europeans and natives of India, but he distrusted all prescribed proportional arrangements of that kind. There were, of course, different methods of proving fitness for important posts. Mr. Rees had said he would sweep away all distinctions, and that any Indian in the Service should be open to be appointed to the very highest post, but he did not think there was much danger of that being adopted. A most unwarrantable use had been made of the phrase "as far as may be" in the Proclamation.

MR. PETRE thought too little mention had been made of the Provincial Services, which were practically entirely officered by natives of India. Speaking, at any rate, for the North-West Provinces, he thought the number of high appointments at present reserved for Indians in the Executive was as high as it could with safety be. With regard to the judicial line, he thought the number of posts open to natives might perhaps be increased. It was sometimes forgotten how invidious often was the position of a native in charge of a large district in the Upper Provinces. He assumed that every native in the Civil Service, or in the Provincial Service, was either a Hindu or a Mohammedan. There were Parsees, but in his view a Parsee was nearly as much an alien to the native of India as the European. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) He instanced the case of a Hindu Collector under him, one of whose Mohammedan subordinates insulted the priests of a Hindu Temple by shooting a monkey, and when they complained, beat one of them with a shoe. The end of it was that upon the man's conviction the Collector merely fined him a month's pay. On appeal to him, Mr. Petre, as Commissioner, set the matter right by dismissing the delinquent. The Collector, of whom Mr. Petre held the highest opinion, was led into error by a desire to avoid any appearance of prejudice in favour of his own co-religionist. In one of the more turbulent districts such an occurrence would have raised a blaze of fanaticism which would have made a Hindu or a Mohammedan Collector's position intolerable. Most natives of India would be only too glad to avoid a position of that sort. On the question of economy, the European, he took it, was paid for living the better half of his life in a foreign country and an uncongenial climate. The native who had passed by open competition was paid at precisely the same rate, and was thereby compensated for his voyage to Europe. It was different in the Provincial Service, where the native in charge of a district, having the same authority and the same position as his confrère in the Covenanted Service, received only two-thirds of the pay. If there were to be any such system as that suggested, of the Government bearing the expense of candidates selected to compete for the Civil Service, the corollary would be to differentiate between the pay of such candidates and the pay of the European officers, as was done in the Provincial Services.

MR. CONNELL said Mr. Pennington had alluded to a paper which he had the honour to read before the Association thirteen or fourteen years ago. He then had the benefit of a discussion which had been going on for some years in the Indian press on the subject, and of having before him a large amount of the evidence which had been taken in India by the Commission

on the Employment of Natives in the Civil Service. It was, he thought, most important to know the results of the labours of that Commission. At that time, roughly speaking, the Civil Service of India was divided into five branches : First, the Covenanted Service, with about 900 members, nearly all Europeans, holding the highest posts ; then there came the military officers in civil employ, amounting to about 1,600 ; then the small and recently established Statutory Service of the natives of India, in which there were only 30 ; then came the great army of uncovenanted civilians, with salaries of £100 a year and upwards, holding the lower judicial and administrative offices, amounting to 14,500, about half being natives of India. Below them came an army of clerks, village officials, police, and so on. He had made some suggestions that the Indian Civil Service should be divided into the upper, or Imperial Service, chiefly European ; the Provincial Service, almost entirely confined to natives ; and below that, the great army of Civil Servants, doing a variety of humble work. He believed the Commission reported on somewhat similar lines. He did not know whether Mr. Pennington could tell them the result of the changes which had been since made. The age had been raised for the open competition in England, and he believed with very good results. He understood that a better and maturer class of men had gone out from England to India. As to the effect on the number of Indian candidates, he supposed the result was much as before. He did not think any alteration ought to be made as regards the Indian Imperial Service, except in one respect. He thought it should still be open to competition in England. The coming of the candidate from India to England was in itself a very good test of enterprise and energy. No doubt it limited the competition to men fairly well to do, but this was an advantage, as it probably produced men with larger views of life. One change might be made, that it should as much as possible limit the Imperial Service, which had still to be recruited by open competition, and gradually from the Provincial Service introduce men of proved ability. He agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that the local governments in India must be responsible for securing adequate tests of competency and executive capacity of men promoted from the provincial administration. Although the competitive test worked fairly well in England under certain conditions, he did not think it would be a good test to apply for the purpose of securing the best administrative ability in India. Therefore, he said that if they wanted to recruit the highest administrative posts and the highest executive posts with Indian gentlemen it must be, not by competitive examination, whether in England or in India, but from men tried in administrative posts under the eye and supervision of British officers. It was that which had been the basis of success in Egypt.

MR. ALLBLESS thought the tone of Mr. Pennington so reasonable, and his suggestions so sensible, that very few speakers could take any exception to them. He wished to say a few words on the subject of simultaneous examination. As a Parsee he had received the highest possible education at the University of Bombay. He found that that education was not sufficient ; it was solid and sound, but not broad enough, and it was only

when he went to Cambridge that he received an education in its broadest terms. He feared those who had only received an Indian education had not all the advantages which an English education naturally could give. He believed most of the success which had been achieved by Indian people in India was due to the fact that they had come in contact with Europeans, whose ideas and views they had indirectly acquired, and he thought it would be a calamity to India if the examination were confined altogether to India.

MR. NILKANT WAGLE had no objection to make to the views expressed by Mr. Pennington. Every Indian must feel very much obliged for the noble sentiments which had been expressed at that meeting. There was an Indian saying: "If you have not got a lump of sugar to give me, have not you a word as sweet as sugar?" An Indian was always satisfied with a sweet word as well as with a lump of sugar. The Proclamation of the Sovereign had been referred to which said that any Indian subject would be admitted into the Service without distinction of race or creed, and Mr. Pennington had qualified that Proclamation by quoting Lord Lytton and Sir Robert Peel; but in his opinion the Sovereign had given a promise, and no man in the kingdom could overrule the promise of the Sovereign. He took objection to the rule that candidates must be of European birth, not only with regard to the Indian Service, but with regard to the Service in this country. Let them both be subject to the same tests and the best man get the post. The Proclamation never was intended to go further than to say that all appointments should be open to British subjects. Mr. Naoroji thought the pledges in the Proclamations were given with all sincerity, and that the British people were perfectly prepared to fulfil them. He (Mr. Wagle) was of opinion that the journey to England was necessary, because the whole machinery of the Indian Government was on a Western model, and it would be desirable that he should in person have experience of the working of that machinery. With regard to Indian education, many Indians of the highest position and attainments had never been to England, and he maintained that education could be completed as well in India as in England. It, of course, depended on the individual.

DR. INCE welcomed the change that had taken place in the opinions of men entitled to the highest respect as to the extension of the native element. Why should not the natives of India govern their own country? Had not the natives of India proved themselves to be as clever and as intellectual as the Japanese? What would be thought of any European country which desired to introduce a European Government into Japan? China was almost in the same position; but it was the first Article in the British Creed that they were sent to India to train the people for their own self-government, and the destiny of the British nation was to retire when that was done, and he hoped they would retire as honourably as did the Romans from Britain. (No, no.)

MR. COLDSTREAM thought that the coming of young natives to England for education was a subject of great importance. It was one to which he had devoted much attention, and which might well engage the attention of

this Association. There were two sides to the question, but with reference to the subject alluded to—the training, namely, of those who aspired to enter the Indian Civil Service—there was little doubt that the coming of natives to England, thus familiarizing themselves with the institutions of England, was most desirable for those who were to return to India and to take part in its government. Undoubtedly young Indians coming to this country were exposed to many temptations—that was almost inevitable; but if they made the best use of their opportunities, no doubt residence in this country was a factor eminently qualifying them for their share in the future government of India.

The CHAIRMAN observed that in the instructive discussion which had taken place on Mr. Pennington's very interesting paper the speakers had very much avoided dealing in detail with Mr. Pennington's observations, which led him to the conclusion that there were considerable difficulties in the way of saying how the employment of natives could be made more easy consistently with safety. In dealing with the Proclamations made thirty-three years ago, they must always remember what was probably at the time in the minds of the people who made them. Great advance had been made in the direction of wishing to increase the number of natives in the Service, but he expected that if those who were responsible for the Proclamations had been aware that their words could be construed into a desire that the higher posts should be filled by natives, they would not have used the words they did. As to the payment of the passages of natives to this country in order that they should attend one of the Universities, he believed the safest way would be to select natives of proved ability in India irrespective of any examination. He was glad the discussion had kept all along on the main line of the expediency of opening the Service to natives consistently with the maintenance of our rule in India. It would be hypocritical to deny that we were there for our own interests, though that was consistent with every feeling of consideration for the natives. Mr. Rees had talked of lower salaries for Indians, but if Europeans were paid more than natives the inequality would be sure to be pointed out. If all the salaries were reduced, Europeans would automatically be excluded from India, and that he did not think fair. It had been said that to a European a career in India was not so disagreeable as it was many years ago. That was true, but, on the other hand, the cost of living had greatly increased, and the rupee had fallen 30 per cent.

MR. PENNINGTON said he had very few observations to make in reply. Mr. Martin Wood had said that "as far as may be" meant that you were to do it as far as possible, but he thought they must accept the interpretation that it was to be so far as consistent with the safety and security of our administration. As to competition, the only fair thing would be to have it in England.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN proposed and MR. J. D. REES seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

Another meeting of the Association was held on Wednesday, February 26, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at which Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., LL.D., took the chair. There were present amongst others: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Lieut.-Colonel H. Wilson, Colonel A. T. Frazer, Dr. David Duncan, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., Mr. Loraine Petre, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Shepherd, Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Dr. Bhaba, Mrs. Arathoon, Mrs. Hoppey, Miss Teschemacher, Miss G. F. Pearse, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. J. W. Walker, Mr. Hasted Thorn, Mr. Wagle, Mr. Kehr Singh, Mr. Mahomed Ismail, Mr. N. P. Daru, Mr. Kinloch, Mr. P. P. Pillai, Mr. F. C. Hodgson, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

SIR ROLAND WILSON, Bart., read the following paper\* entitled "Is State-aided Education in any Shape suitable to the Present Circumstances of India?"

The CHAIRMAN, in inviting discussion, said he had been quite unprepared for two digressions in the paper—the first, the attack on Sir William Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India," a truly admirable book on its subject, and which seemed to him a most desirable one to prescribe for the use of the Government schools in India; and the second, the reference in the introductory portion to the controversial question of "the poverty of India." But they all seemed to have Mr. William Digby on the brain just now, and his name having been introduced into the paper, he thought the best course to pursue would be to call on their friend Mr. William Digby to open the discussion.

MR. WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E., said he could not help feeling, as he listened to his somewhat mild and pleasant way of putting facts, that the learned author of the paper must have been endeavouring to emulate Mr. James McNeill Whistler when that gentleman wrote his pamphlet called "The Gentle Art of making Enemies," for he could not conceive any paper that could be read before the East India Association that was so likely when brought before the people of India, to make them enemies, not of one so amiable as Sir Roland Wilson, but of the proposals which he had put forward. He ventured to think it was a great pity that on the plea of the poverty of India such a proposal as that contained in the paper should have been made. Sir Roland Wilson had very properly taken Lord Curzon as his authority, wishing to rely upon the most optimistic statement he could. His (Mr. Digby's) figures of estimated income were set aside for the Viceroy's, the latter being more favourable. He should like to say that when they regarded the figures closely it would be found there was very little difference between the estimate he felt himself compelled to put forward and that of Lord Curzon's. Lord Curzon calculated that for the agricultural population, which was three-fourths of the population of India, their average income was Rs. 20 per annum, while his (Mr. Digby's) came to Rs. 17, or three farthings per head. Worked out in detail, Lord Curzon's estimate was seven-eighths of one

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

penny per head, so that there was really only that fraction of difference between them—half a farthing. But if the poverty of India was to be the occasion of making a reduction in the expenditure on education, he did hope that everyone who could would speak out strongly against any starving of the Education Department. (Hear, hear.) He differed entirely from the author of the paper when the latter argued that it was not the duty of the Government to educate the people of a country, and that the people of India because of their poverty should be left to provide for their own education as their very limited resources would permit. In any country at the present time, seeing how greatly education affected the status of a country, such a policy would be fatal; but in India, where the Government was everything, and where authority carried a weight that had no parallel in any European country—official-ridden as some Continental nations were—to divorce the State from education would be to do the people of India an almost irremediable mischief and serious lasting harm. Sir Roland Wilson had put his proposal forward in a very kindly spirit, and with a view to relieve the people of India from some of the burden of taxation that now weighed so heavily upon them; but the amount of money spent on State-aided education in India was not as much as that which was given as a special allowance to the servants of the State when the value of the rupee became very low. If it were proposed to make such a saving as was estimated, he could imagine Indian publicists, when this paper with its recommendations came before them, urging that it was in that direction, and not in starving State-aided education in India, that a reduction should be made. If thought for the people had been the predominant idea in Sir Roland Wilson's mind, he would not have talked of education as a "fancy expenditure." Expenditure on education at the present time, when they saw the educated nations were getting more and more to the front, could scarcely be rightly denominated as "fancy expenditure." A few evenings ago at a similar meeting to the present he had been gently chided by a friend, whom he saw there that afternoon, for comparing the people of India and their condition with the people of European countries and their condition. In that criticism he had been misunderstood. To-day, if he instituted a comparison, it would be between the people of India and other Asiatic peoples—with Japan, for example. The example which, more than all others, the people in India had before them at the present time, and wished to follow, was that of Japan. Nowhere had education justified beyond all doubt the desirability and advantage of the Government undertaking the education of the people than in that country. Deal with the Indian people educationally as Japan had been dealt with, and India, too, would rise high in the scale of nations as Japan had done. A great portion of the paper only related to the education of the masses, and not so much to those who received the benefits of higher education; but the more one looked into the paper, and endeavoured to ascertain what the author was really driving at, it seemed that he desired that higher education should also be restricted, and he threw out the prospect or bribe of simultaneous examinations for the higher branches of the Civil Service as a reason why the people of India would themselves

maintain higher education without Government assistance. Strongly as he (Mr. Digby) was in favour of simultaneous examinations taking place in India and in England, he should object to seeing it obtained by such a means as had been suggested. (Hear, hear.) With reference to Sir William Lee-Warner's "Citizen of India," he agreed with Sir Roland Wilson's remarks. That book had undoubtedly caused a great deal of strong feeling in some of the scholastic institutions in India, and the Senate of the University of the North-West Provinces at Allahabad had had the matter under discussion arising out of the complaints made by many teachers in large institutions. While thanking Sir Roland Wilson for bringing the matter forward, he desired to repeat that unless there was much more to be said in favour of the contentions in the paper than had been advanced by its author, when it reached India it would be calculated to cause very serious mischief. For this reason he regretted that one whose sympathies with, and desire to serve, India were so great as Sir Roland Wilson's had made such a suggestion. The Indian people would rightly, he thought, strongly object to such a proposal. Here was an instance. He (Mr. Digby) had that morning met an Indian gentleman who occupied a high administrative position, and had invited him to attend that meeting. On learning the title and scope of the paper he declined the invitation, saying it was another proof of what the people of India were learning every day. That was that the English nation, in its dealings with India, had lost its old ideals, and meant to bring them back to a state of barbarism. When he (Mr. Digby) remembered that it was only through English education there was any possibility of the people of India rising to a high position in their own country, he did feel that the teaching of such a paper as that of Sir Roland Wilson's marked a retrograde step, which, if taken, would be followed by most serious consequences. (Hear, hear.) He therefore regretted that it should have been submitted to the Association.

MR. J. D. REES, C.I.E., thought that, in dealing with the question of the poverty of India, the author of the paper in comparing the average annual income of a native of India with the weekly wage of a skilled London mechanic was basing his argument on a wholly fallacious premise. No possible comparison could be made, and the native of India was better off with his £2 a year than the London mechanic with the same wage a week. With reference to Japan, he believed the great changes that had taken place there had been more the result of the volatile character of the people, and their love of change, than of their system of education, which, however, was good. He maintained that the comparison Mr. Digby had made was a very fallacious one, and if anyone would take the trouble to leave the beaten track of the tea-houses of Japan, and go into the country, they would find the people of Japan no richer than the people of India; but if Mr. Digby would compare the condition of the people of India with the condition of the people of other Eastern countries, the comparison would be valuable. Sir Roland Wilson had spoken of the impoverishment of the population by the payment of the Land Assessment and the Salt Duty, but would Sir Roland Wilson point to any time when the people of India were better off?



He (Mr. Rees) could not. A comparison had also been instituted between the proportion of income taken from the far wealthier population of the United Kingdom and that taken from the people of India, but in the former case most of the money came from one and the same class, and in the latter taxation spread all over a country which lacked a rich middle class. The Emperor Akbar, by common consent the most just of the foreign former Rulers of India, had laid down as one of the rules of revenue administration that there should be left to the cultivator as much as was required for food for himself and his children, and for seed until next harvest, and that the remainder was the Land Tax. Let that be compared with the 10 per cent., or even the exceptional 20 per cent., of the present Land Tax. He thought that if the suggestion of Sir Roland Wilson, that Government should cease to support education, were carried out, it would be the most unpopular thing ever done in India, and he would greatly regret to see the system of education, which had been built up by so many earnest and eminent men in India with most excellent results, departed from in any way, except to improve it. He considered that the Government had got back its money's worth in the admirable administrators who had been trained under the existing system, but, at the same time, he would not hesitate to say that there were a great many flaws in our education, and he thought the greatest of all was that it turned out men with a disposition not to care for Indian things, but to hanker after Western ideas, which made them the less useful, in some cases useless, and on others mischievous, when the objects to which their lives were to be devoted were taken into consideration.

MR. THORBURN said that the bewildering and wholly unsettling paper they had heard read had touched on so many points of Indian administration, and closed so inconclusively, that he doubted whether the doubting propounder of those doubts had any settled convictions at all—on the subject of the paper, at least. Sir Roland Wilson had convinced himself that India was poor, that education was more or less of a luxury, and that the Government of India had a great many urgent needs for money for reforms and other necessary purposes, and therefore he held it would be better that the Government should drop the educational paint-brush—for a time, at least—and leave it to the Indians themselves to take it up, and daub the healthy brown of their natural complexions a sickly English white or any other colour.

Coming to the point of the lecturer's points and perplexities, the various estimates of average income, all proving poverty, he thought that hypothetical estimates based on conjectural data only showed that those who made them, whether Viceroys or Digbys, had idle time on hand, and well they all knew what Dr. Watts had said, how "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Those fallacious and misleading estimates were, he thought, wholly mischievous, what in the Settlement Department used to be called "fireworks," because they made a great show and there was really very little in them.

Now, passing to the question of the weight of the Land Revenue Assessments in India, the Government, the Famine Commission, and the

Secretary of State all said that the assessments were very low, and quoted figures. The trilogy, Messrs. Digby, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Dutt, all said the assessments were high. They also quoted figures, and maintained that the height of those assessments were one of the causes of the poverty of Indian agriculturists. His own view was this: that the Government of India was the Overlord of India, and the Land Revenue Assessment were State rent. Indigenous Governments used to take elastically about two rupees to one that our Government took, but the difference was that we took it rigidly, crop or no crop, whereas our predecessors took the lion's share of a crop when there was one only. As a result, our light rigidity was harder on the people than our predecessors' heavy elasticity. (Hear, hear.)

With reference to the remarks made about "The Citizen of India," he had never seen the book, but, according the description given by Sir Roland Wilson, that it dragged in dogmatically a number of points which were really controversial, and that its aim and object was to glorify the British Government—why should it not? As a matter of course, every civilized Government in the world had to introduce text-books into its schools, and among those text-books there must be works on history, political economy, and on the constitution of the State. Would not the Government of India be very foolish if it did not do its best to impress on the young idea that its own way of treating the subject was the best possible? (Hear, hear.) Take the text-books used in French, German, and Russian schools. They were misleading from an English point of view, but from the point of view of the Governments concerned they were what it was necessary to teach.

Now, coming on to what the lecturer had called "the religious difficulty," it had twice recently been discussed before this Association, and he had hoped it was dead and buried, but here it was coming to the fore for the third time. With reference to Dr. Duncan's statement, that in 85 per cent. of the schools of India the religious teachers had a free hand, he (Mr. Thorburn) thought that the great bulk of that large percentage was made up of merely infant rote-schools, attended by babes from two years of age to seven, who were taught like parrots in some classical language which they did not understand.

Coming to the question raised as to the utility of primary education, he was really distressed to hear Sir Roland Wilson remark that there was a great deal of unreality in the argument that, except by teaching the masses of the agriculturists the three R's, these masses would be unable to cope with the wily usurer. His own conviction was that in the extension of primary education among the masses lay the chief hope of raising them from a position resembling that of bovine bipeds with the intelligences of quadrupeds to that of human beings able to take care of themselves through life. (Hear, hear.) As to what the educational system in India might be, and what it should be, he held that it was the absolute duty of the Indian Government to continue and extend a system of State-aided education for the benefit of the agriculturists, who, it must be remembered, contributed nine-tenths of the taxation of India. (Hear, hear.) Further, every rupee taken from them and applied to education ought to be spent on those taxpayers who found the money. With reference to higher education, he was

not sure that Sir Roland Wilson's opinion was not right, that that might now be left to the people of India themselves. Throughout India the commercial and professional classes were numerous and comparatively well off, and in every province there were two or three rupee-millionaires. If the Government would distinguish with titles and in other ways persons who gave large educational benefactions, he was certain that in a short time they would have in every province not one, but half a dozen Carnegies! (Hear, hear.)

SIR CHARLES STEVENS said he agreed with Mr. Rees as to the impossibility of applying an English standard to the condition of the natives of India. The first thing that struck him in Sir Roland Wilson's paper was the absence of detail as to facts, and an absence of discrimination between different classes of education and of schools. No distinction was drawn between educational establishments which were directly managed as Government schools, and those which were technically spoken of as grant-in-aid institutions. It is conceivable that it might be perfectly right for the Government to maintain, for instance, agricultural or technical schools, or to take up schools in particular localities for particular classes of people, and still not advisable for them to manage, or even aid, schools in other localities or among other classes of people; it did not at all follow that an argument applicable to one class of schools was equally applicable to all. Sir Roland Wilson had quoted descriptions by Mr. Carstairs of the system of school inspection with which he (Sir Charles Stevens) could not agree. It certainly did not represent his own experience of the state of affairs in Bengal. The lowest class of inspecting officers (the sub-inspectors) inspected the lower schools. The deputy-inspectors supervised the sub-inspectors and inspected some of the lower schools, while they themselves also inspected higher schools. They in turn were supervised by the inspectors, who had large tracts of country under them, and who inspected some of all sorts of schools except (he believed) the collegiate schools. He was altogether opposed to the withdrawal of State aid from education in India, and he thought Sir Roland Wilson had for the moment forgotten how the educational system did not stand apart, but was bound up in the whole administration of the country. It was admitted that the preservation of order was the first consideration. How was the Government to insist on the provision of efficient magistrates, police officers, civil judges? Doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other professional men, must be educated, if only to carry on the administration; the Government has, therefore, a direct interest in the matter, and, in the speaker's opinion, mere commercial competition could not be depended upon to give the necessary men. With reference to primary schools, he strongly approved of the work that had been begun in Bengal by Sir George Campbell, of bringing the old indigenous schools into touch with the Education Department and improving the teachers. He illustrated the danger and difficulty arising from the want of instruction of this sort by referring to the taking of the census in 1881 among the Sonthals of the Birbhum District, and to the discontent which he had personally traced to the bad treatment of the Sonthals by some enterprising Bengalis, who had taken advantage of their ignorance

and rented lands to them on perfectly outrageous conditions, such as no one capable of reading and understanding the terms would have accepted. In reporting to Government, he particularly advised the establishment of some primary schools, so that this evil should not be perpetuated. He did not, of course, deny that there is still room for improvement in the educational system of Bengal; and he would particularly like to see it less completely dominated than it is at present by the University. (Hear, hear.)

MR. N. D. DARU objected to the description in the paper of the Government as an alien Government. The proper persons to say that were the natives of the country, and not the Government itself. The Government should try and put itself on a level with the natives of the country, and remove from their minds any idea at all that it was an alien Government. Then, with reference to education, he would put it to the meeting whether primary education, as given in the vernacular schools of India, was in any real sense education at all, and if that was the sort of education the Government were to spend their money on—whether it was a proper return for the money. The retiring of the Government from higher education, or their charging high fees for higher education, would simply mean that poor people would never get it. If the Government did not have institutions of its own, private institutions would spring up on a business basis, and poor people would be shut out. With reference to the introduction of text-books, like Sir William Lee-Warner's book, into schools, although he was not sure he ought properly to say anything, yet he would suggest that it was necessary to exercise great care, as was illustrated by what happened when Butler's Sermons were prescribed for an examination in the Bombay University, and the students, having read the book, invented some plausible arguments against the statements contained in it, and considered they were justified in not believing in the existence of God.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving a vote of thanks to Sir Roland Wilson, said that on some points the paper had been entirely misrepresented, and in others misunderstood. Mr. Thorburn had called it "a most bewildering and wholly unsettling paper." But what valid objection could there be to it on these grounds? The paper was an academical one, and intended to provoke discussion. It was not like a proposal brought forward in Parliament or before an Indian Legislative Council. It was a paper submitted to a debating society, and certainly it had provoked one of the very best discussions he had listened to in that room. Then again, Sir Roland Wilson did not object to higher education; he simply suggested that the cost of it should not be entirely borne by the State. For his own part, he was an out-and-out supporter of primary education, and secondary education, and higher education. It was useless to talk about promoting primary and secondary education and industrial education unless you insisted on higher education being simultaneously promoted to the utmost extent possible. They all hung together, and it would be soon found that primary and industrial education would be of very little benefit to a country if it neglected higher education. The remarkable development of the dyers'

trade in England during the past thirty years, and in all the artistic denominations of textile manufacture, and in furniture and house decoration, was attributable ultimately to the writings of Ruskin and William Morris, and the paintings of Rossetti, Millais, and others. While in India he was an enthusiastic promoter of higher education; but what was wanted in India was that the higher education should not be developed after an exclusively English type. One of the greatest of crimes against a people, and the meanest wrong that could be perpetrated on them, was to dislocate the continuity of their national culture and to destroy their historical and literary personality. Therefore, wherever the people of India had, as in the Madras Presidency and in the Mahratta country, developed a great literature of their own, the most scrupulous and strenuous care should be taken that their higher education should be directed to its ever-increasing cultivation. With reference to the administration of education in India, he had always thought that it should be left more and more in the hands of the people of India themselves. As for the Government expenditure on education in India, he thought a million and a quarter a mere flea-bite. But it was time to remember that there was an enormous reserve for educational purposes—industrial, scientific, and literary—in the temple funds of India. No Government could raise that question; but gradually as the modern educated classes of Hindus became more and more influential, they would bring their influence to bear on the present trustees of the temples, and thus secure certain obvious and spontaneous reforms in the administration of their vast funds, whereby they would be increasingly applied to the relief of poverty and distress, and the promotion of education. The schools would thus everywhere spring up within the sacred precincts of the tutelary village temples, and there would be no more talk then of people being driven by Joseph Butler's "Analogy of Revealed Religion," into atheism. Before moving the formal vote of thanks to Sir Roland Wilson, he must renew his protest against the repeated attacks on Sir William Lee-Warner's book. He only wished it was available for use in the schools in England. He did not know any other book from which students in any country could so comprehensively and thoroughly learn their duties as citizens, and if they were to have State-aided education in India, the Government of the country were bound to instruct the people in their duties to the State, and not only that, but in the duties of the State to the people; and the latter was particularly necessary in a country where the acts of the Government were constantly misrepresented, and that not so much through misunderstandings arising on the spot, as under deliberate instructions circulated by political partisans in this country, the active crater of whose agitation lay within the precinct of Westminster Abbey. In conclusion the Chairman moved: "That the most cordial thanks of the meeting be given to Sir Roland Wilson for his valuable and most interesting paper."

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

SIR ROLAND WILSON thanked the Chairman for the way in which he had proposed the vote of thanks, and the meeting for the manner in which it had been received. There were only two points he would notice in his present reply. The first was that he should not like to go out to

India, as Mr. Digby had threatened, that he was an enemy of India. Mr. Digby knew better than that. He was a cordial sympathizer with the Indian National Congress in their general policy, but in this one matter of taxation for educational purposes they did not represent the suffering masses of India whom Mr. Digby had so generously championed. As regards Sir William Lee-Warner's book, the point taken in the paper was that some such book was inevitable under the circumstances; that if the State undertook to teach morals it must include politics; if it undertook to teach politics it must give its own view. And for a partisan statement of things as the Government would wish them to be Sir William Lee-Warner's book was admirable, but they had the testimony of Mr. Digby that it had produced precisely the danger which *a priori* he had expected, and had excited discontent. His remedy was that the State should not undertake the responsibility of teaching morals at all.

A cordial vote of thanks having been unanimously accorded to the Chairman, on the motion of Sir Roland Wilson, the proceedings terminated.

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MR. J. B. PENNINGTON writes: Almost everything I had in my mind to say was said so much better by other speakers that it is scarcely necessary for me to do more than emphasize Mr. Digby's excellent remarks.

Sir Roland Wilson was a good deal misunderstood, and must surely be the last person in the world to decry the value of a liberal education, though his story of the managing Hindu widow certainly seemed like a positive argument against even learning to read and write. All he really said was that it was not the business of the State to educate the people, much less to pay for their education. I, on the contrary, agree with Mr. Digby that it is the bounden duty of the State in India, as elsewhere, to see that the people are properly educated; and we cannot otherwise expect them to fit themselves for self-government, however limited; and that, I still hope, is one of the objects of our rule, if not the most important of all. Unless the leaders of public opinion are wisely educated, how can we expect them to discriminate in our favour so as to prefer our rule to that of any other nation? Education, therefore, is, to my mind, the most truly imperial of all our national concerns; and, not only in India, but in this country also, should be an imperial, not a local charge. It is as necessary to the very existence of the nation as the army and navy; and as much more valuable, when compared with the police and magistracy, as a prophylactic is superior to any mere remedy. Sir Roland was, in my opinion, too sanguine in thinking that education in India might safely be left to private enterprise; and, as I have said already, a civilized Government is as much responsible for the proper education of the people as for the efficiency of the army and navy. As Mr. Haldane so well said in his address at Liverpool, "The work is far too important to be left to private, or even local, enterprise."

I should like to have made just one more remark. Sir Roland is amazed that anyone should think that low assessment discourages industry, and I would not say that it "discourages" industry; but Mr. Robertson, of the Madras Agricultural Department, used to say that unduly low rents only encouraged slovenly farming, and certainly it must be admitted that high rents compel high farming.

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MR. W. MARTIN WOOD writes: The discussion following the reading of Sir Roland Wilson's paper was very discursive, and, being closed abruptly, there was little opportunity to deal with, or even realize, the revolutionary bearing of the learned lecturer's proposals. The British-Indian system of public instruction as framed pursuant to the memorable education despatch—issued in 1854 by the Court of Directors before the dark shadows of 1857-58 fell on the good old Company—had, in its beneficent design, its fine impartiality, and its comprehensiveness, seemed to many of us almost a counsel of perfection. Coming to a later date, when its wisdom and success were being so amply justified—that is, in the early sixties—Anglo- and native-Indian public opinion alike was in cordial unison with Sir Bartle Frere in western India, with John Bruce Norton in Madras, and other public-spirited men in Bengal and upper India, who all looked forward with confidence to deeper influence through the several provincial departments of this genuine public instruction movement. And in that hopeful period the generous benefactions of wealthier Indian citizens to schools and colleges alike—to which our Chairman so aptly alluded—proved what a firm hold the new education on Western methods had taken on the minds and hearts of the whole community. The system was all through dependent on State aid and direction, without which it could never have been created; and now, as its jubilee year is well-nigh reached, it comes as a shock to us conservative Anglo-Indians to find the genial Cambridge Professor of Hindu and Mohammedan Law, who has instructed successive generations of the Indian products of that system, coolly proposing to knock away its plinth and cut its mainstay. And that shock, as we shall find a month hence, must come back to us here in very articulate echoes from all parts of the great peninsula. True, we were not quite unprepared for some such symptom of reaction. Amongst some of our more timid or distrustful Indian administrators of late years, even in high places, there has been a feeling such as beset Frankenstein when confronted with the imposing creature he had evolved out of his too facile consciousness; but in this modern instance the uneasiness of the creators is accentuated in that the very lifelike creature wears such indelible marks of its paternity, and actually speaks—(*vide* the old anecdote of Manokji Cursetji and the London Arab). But the courageous promoters of Indian public instruction, who witnessed its adolescence, did not ignore the inevitable evolution that has shaken the nerves of their modern successors, who now seek to slacken the supports of the system and to bind their Samson with such green withes or with restraints they can hastily devise. Thus, we are

once more confronted with another of those oft-recurring tests of the sincerity and firmness of the well-founded principles on which we are striving to adapt Western constructive methods to the transition phase of modern Indian peoples. My own conviction is that, in spite of these occasional ebb-tides, that test will stand the strain. Just one word as to Sir Roland Wilson's device and argument for restraint of the noble plan of Indian public instruction,—retrenchment. Really, the disproportion of this relief for the impecuniosity of India is too grotesque for argument. It is, indeed, as he admitted, a mere "flea-bite" as compared with the monster "leech" which from 1876 to 1882 sucked away one hundred millions of India's resources to be worse than wasted *outside* of India altogether; and which, judging by certain incidental remarks in the paper, the honourable Baronet seemed to have forgotten, or regarded with childlike acquiescence.

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SIR ROLAND WILSON'S REPLY.

By express request of the Chairman, owing to the lateness of the hour, I reserved nearly the whole of my reply, and I find that, in addition to the six speeches delivered at the meeting, there are two other written contributions subsequently sent to be dealt with. So much the better. I propose to take up the various criticisms in the order of the various points in my paper to which they relate, rather than in the purely accidental order of the speeches.

1. *The Facts about Indian Poverty.*—Mr. Thorburn seems to think that the figures of Lord Curzon and Mr. Digby are equally worthless, and that nobody knows anything about the matter. Does he mean, also, that it is a waste of time to try to find out the truth? If so, few people will agree with him; for it would imply the abandonment of all hope of ever framing a rational Budget. Mr. Rees, who followed Mr. Digby, would have been saved, by more careful attention to that gentleman's remarks, from the mistake of treating 1½d. a day as the Curzonian estimate of the average cultivator's income. Mr. Digby had pointed out that the Viceroy estimated the agricultural income at 17s. a year, or seven-eighths of a penny a day, being only half a farthing more than his own estimate. The same mistake, by the way, was made by Lord George Hamilton in the House of Commons. For the purpose of my argument, the general average income—taking rich and poor, agriculturists and non-agriculturists, together—was the important matter, and it was a considerable concession on my part, for the sake of simplifying the discussion, when I accepted Lord Curzon's £2 per annum instead of the £1 or thereabouts indicated in the diagram on p. 2 of Mr. Digby's book. The more optimistic estimate was, however, quite bad enough to prove the urgent need for retrenchment. The protest, made by Mr. Rees and endorsed by Sir C. Stevens, against my laying stress on the contrast between the *weekly* £2 of a London artisan and the *yearly* £2 of the average Indian taxpayer—or, as I might have put it, the yearly



17s. of the average agriculturist—might have had some force had the difference been commensurate with any conceivable difference in climate or cost of necessaries; but when it comes to multiplying by fifty-two—or, more properly, by 122—the disproportion between the suggested cause and the effect becomes rather ludicrous. The clearest admission, however, of the actual wretchedness involved in Indian poverty was made the other day by Lord George Hamilton in the very argument by which he sought to extenuate it. He argued that the food to be provided out of this 1½d.—he should have said 1d.—a day per head was less than might be supposed, because the proportion of children to adults is so abnormally large in India. But why is it so? Because, in his own words, the birth-rate and death-rate are higher than in Europe. And what is there to account for a high death-rate under the *pax Britannica*, unless it be general and chronic poverty? Mr. Digby makes out that the average length of life is twenty-three and a half years, as against forty years in Great Britain, and the last statistical abstract shows a death-rate of thirty per 1,000, as against eighteen per 1,000 in the whole United Kingdom.

2. *Amount and Incidence of Taxation.*—My contention has not been answered, that the ratio between land assessment and gross produce cannot by itself prove anything as to the moderation or severity of the former; consequently that, in so far as the authorities choose to rest their case upon this, they practically admit that they have been working all along in the dark. I hold with Mr. Baden-Powell that, whether we choose to call the land revenue “tax” or “rent,” it operates as a tax upon agricultural incomes, so that unless we know the net income we cannot tell whether it is oppressive or not.

Mr. Thorburn ridicules the attempts made on both sides to arrive at this income, but his own opinion as to what he calls the “light rigidity” of the system must rest on similar data or on nothing. He would have us imitate the “elasticity” of the old native methods, taking less than at present in bad years (which is well), and proportionately more in good years (which may not be so well). He is impressed rightly enough with the advantage of diminishing the cultivator's dependence on the money-lender; has he sufficiently considered the danger of not leaving sufficient margin of profit from a good crop to encourage thrift and enterprise?

Mr. Pennington quotes expert opinion to the effect that low rents are found in Madras to encourage slovenly farming. If there is any truth in this, it must surely be because the system is such that the reward for producing larger crops by greater skill and industry will be to have the rent raised at the next assessment. If *raiayatwari* holdings were permanently settled, with or without provisoes for intercepting unearned increments, it would be seen whether the raiyat is accessible to the motives which have made his French counterpart the hardest of workers and the keenest of bidders for Government securities, and the experiment would surely be worth making at the sacrifice of some of the revenue now spent on inefficient schools.

3. *The Need for Increased Expenditure in other Directions.*—The only

remark elicited by this portion of my paper was a reference in Mr. Martin Wood's written notes to the waste of Indian resources in wars beyond the frontier. Here I am with him generally as to the past, and as anxious as he can be that our "forward" policy should be carefully watched and checked in the future. I strongly suspect that, if only the will were present, a way might be found of placing our relations with both Russia and Afghanistan on such a footing that we might save the Afghan subsidy and reduce the numerical strength of our army. But, on the other hand, the cost per man will have to be increased if in the present state of the labour market we are to secure the kind of recruit who will not disgrace the British name by vice and violence. Lumping together the military and civil branches of the absolutely indispensable work of Government, and assuming (contrary to present probability) that all the economies which ought to be effected will be effected, I much doubt the possibility of reducing the total without sacrificing some of the security that the subject has a right to expect.

4. *The Pleas for State Aid to Primary Education.*—Mr. Pennington puts concisely the now dominant view when he writes that "a prophylactic is superior to any mere remedy." I hold with Sir George Cornewall Lewis that in legislation the proverb ought to be reversed, and that more often than not cure is better than prevention. The reason is that the only curative or preventive methods at the disposal of governments are acts so intrinsically mischievous that they rank as crimes when done without special justification. Taxation is *prima-facie* robbery, as arrest is *prima facie* an assault. As a wise Government does not arrest people without strong suspicion of actual or imminent criminality, so neither should it rob them of their money without some more urgent and obvious necessity than a vague idea that the State knows better how it should be spent than the proprietor.

Sir C. Stevens, Mr. Thorburn, and Mr. Pennington all lay stress on the importance of teaching the *raiya* to read and cipher in order that he may protect himself against being cheated. I will ask them to reckon up on the one hand the cost of providing efficient elementary instruction to any given number of Santal, Punjabi, or Tamil children, and on the other hand the cost of providing efficient petty tribunals in the same localities, numerous enough to be accessible to everyone without the loss of a day's work, to listen patiently to every story, to clear up honest misunderstandings, and to detect and punish wilful impositions, and all this without court fees or other expense to the parties. I am much mistaken if they do not find the latter plan (which we may call the mere remedy, or the more direct prophylactic) both cheaper and more certainly efficacious for its immediate purpose; and I am not at all sure that it would not also be more educative. The right end at which to begin is to teach people in a practical way what fair dealing is, and how it can be enforced; the less important lessons that occupy the attention of school inspectors will follow in due time. In dealing with the prophylactic view of State education, this matter of relative cost is fundamental. In spite of my preliminary *caveat*, several speakers, including the Chairman dwelt on the smallness of

the present educational budget as a reason why the saving to be effected by its abolition was not worth a thought. No one attempted to grapple with my argument, that the choice really lies between abolition and an enormous increase, the present expenditure being altogether insufficient to do any real good. Sir C. Stevens naturally said all he could for the system in the development of which he had taken so active a part; but all the impartial testimony that I have been able to collect tends to confirm the doubt expressed by another speaker (Mr. Daru), "whether primary education, as given in the vernacular schools in India, is in any real sense education at all"; and I repeat that, if not, the money spent on it has not merely been wasted, but has done positive mischief.

5. *The Higher Education.*—I am glad to find myself, on one point at least, in agreement with Mr. Thorburn, who thinks that the commercial and professional classes might now pay for their own higher education, with some help from here and there an Indian Carnegie, instead of charging it on the taxes, nine-tenths of which, he says, are paid by the agriculturists. At the same time, I admit, so far as the principle is concerned, the soundness of Sir C. Stevens' plea that the Government must train its own servants to suit its own requirements, and that it may not be always possible to make candidates for Government employment pay the whole cost of qualifying themselves for the posts that they desire to fill. For instance, I find that, in the period covered by the last Quinquennial Review, the Medical Colleges were a source of considerable expense, while the Law Colleges were practically self-supporting. I am willing to rank public expenditure, for the purpose of securing a sufficient supply of competent army surgeons, sanitary inspectors, and so forth, on the same level of necessity with the actual pay of soldiers and policemen; but I do not admit any similar obligation on the State to provide medical aid for persons not in its service, or medical training preparatory to private practice. It is a question to be settled by experiment in each branch of the public service how far commercial competition can be relied on to produce fit candidates; but much will, of course, depend on the degree of public confidence that the fittest will really be selected and promoted, and, in particular, that Europeans will not be promoted over the heads of equally competent Indians.

With this exception, I should like to see the Government withdraw, not only from financial, but from every sort of responsibility for the higher education, and this for the very reason that leads Mr. Pennington to desire its continuance—namely, because, like him, I want to hasten the day when the people of India will be able to take charge of their own affairs. I agree with him as to the end, but differ as to the means. I believe that at the stage now reached the best preparation for self-government is self-education, using the former term in its conventional sense to denote co-operative and indigenous, as opposed to despotic and foreign, government, and meaning by the latter voluntary, as opposed to compulsory, co-operation for educational purposes, which, of course, implies popular and diversified, as opposed to official and uniform, choice of subjects and methods.

Mr. Daru seemed to think it rather unbecoming in me as an Englishman to keep harping on the fact of ours being an alien Government. I did so purposely, because it is a fact which can neither be altered nor explained away, and which ought to inspire constant caution on our part. It is not so much a matter of race and creed as of distance and domicile. Of our countrymen who represent us in India, few were born, much fewer educated there; not more than half have wife or child with them at any given moment, and practically none wish to die there. Where their treasures are, there must their hearts be also. The more clearly we recognise these limiting conditions and the distinctness of British and Indian interests, the more careful shall we be, if we are faithful to our trust, not to compromise the independent future of our ward by any greater interference with his concerns than the business in hand absolutely requires. Present circumstances undoubtedly require that we should act as parish constable—to borrow Cromwell's description of himself when forced to act without a Parliament. They do not require that we should make them pay for being taught how wise and good we are. Yet this is what they do in Germany and France, says Mr. Thorburn. Precisely so, and the political condition of both countries supplies a strong reason for not imitating them. It is often said, and was said by Mr. Digby at this meeting, that in India the Government is everything, more so than in the most official-ridden nations of Europe. Considering (to put it mildly) his imperfect confidence in the wisdom of the present rulers of India, I should have expected him to be among the first to urge restriction rather than enlargement of their sphere of activity, and I can only regret that he does not see the matter in that light.

And now a word or two, in conclusion, as to my own attitude on the question. That Mr. Thorburn should find the paper bewildering and unsettling is in no way surprising. Such is very commonly the first effect of presenting a familiar subject in a new light. But I must have expressed myself very badly to give him the impression of a "doubter doubting his own doubts," when I was trying to give expression to one of my deepest and most settled convictions. Nor can I altogether accept the Chairman's description of the paper as one submitted to a debating society, which sounds hardly respectful to an Association composed largely—perhaps I might say predominantly—of veteran administrators, though it is quite true that it was, and was intended to be, too academical to be submitted to a working legislative body. I believe firmly, and did my little best to convince the influential persons whom I was addressing, that India would be better off now—economically, politically, and even educationally—if the despatch of 1854 had been pigeon-holed and ignored, and that it would be the beginning of a better time if it were possible now to reverse that policy. But I am no less clearly of opinion that, even if I had been so fortunate as to convince them all, and the Secretary of State and Viceroy into the bargain, they would have been powerless to bring about any such reversal without first effecting a radical change in the current conceptions of State functions, of which I see no immediate likelihood, either in this country or among educated Indians. The practical aim, therefore, of my

diagnosis was to put some, if only a few, open-minded individuals on the alert to apply such palliatives as may suggest themselves for the evils inseparable from the present policy.

I think I may fairly claim that, though no speaker supported my conclusion, support was forthcoming from some quarter or other for each one of the several premises on which that conclusion was based.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## FAMINE IN INDIA: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

SIR,

In Mr. Hare's pamphlet on "Famine in India: its Causes and Effects," published by Messrs. P. S. King and Son, Westminster, I had hoped to find something more practical in the way of remedy than we have hitherto seen. If we could be clear as to the causes of famine, we should, perhaps, be led to the proper remedy.

What, then, does Mr. Hare's indictment amount to? Simply, I think, that labour is always and everywhere deprived of its fair share of the produce of labour; and that, I think, is true not only in India, but in England also, and still more conspicuously so in Italy and Russia, and most other countries, except, perhaps, America. What is the whole secret of American prosperity? High wages and (comparative) temperance, or "thrift" amongst the labouring classes, says Mr. Schwab. In England, on the other hand, it is an elaborate and enormously expensive poor law, which spends (or wastes) £6,000,000 *every* year in the "famine relief" of 40,000,000 of people, as compared with about the same amount, too frequently, indeed, but *not yet every* year, on 220,000,000 of people in India. Has it every occurred to our critics that the proportion of people who in ordinary years never have enough to eat is practically the same in India as in England—viz., about 30 per cent.? I see Mr. Hare has evidently not quite overlooked this significant fact (p. 20).

It seems to me, however, that there is some confusion in his interesting and instructive essay. It apparently proceeds upon the assumption that in India only the labouring classes (coolies) suffer from famine; but it is very largely the petty land-holders (ryots) themselves who are affected. Then, the suggested remedy—the storage of grain—applies only to land-holders, and was surely never a practice of the unskilled labouring classes proper. They scarcely ever save anywhere. Moreover, if the British Government is to bear the blame for the disastrous results of modern civilization in the rest of India, it must be allowed some credit for the fact that since 1770 there has been no famine to speak of in Bengal proper. Mr. Hare's crosses against Bengal in 1865, 1885, 1891, and 1897, must be the result of some slip, and everyone knows that the so-called Bengal famine in 1873 was nothing of the kind. And yet practically the same system of administration prevails in Bengal, so far as the actual cultivator or labourer is concerned, the only difference being that the Government has made over about £5,000,000 a year of its legitimate revenue to a set of middlemen, who have become the wealthy zemindars so well known all over the world, whilst the rights of the actual cultivating ryot have been, until quite lately, entirely overlooked, and even now he is nothing but a tenant with certain rights more or less secured by law. How does Mr. Hare account for the comparative prosperity of the Bengali

cultivator? He does not seem to admit that climatic considerations are responsible at all. Trade is just as brisk in the Ganges Valley as elsewhere, and I have no doubt the ryots rejoice in the steady demand for their crops, which enables them to realize their value promptly. Being prosperous themselves, they perhaps treat their labourers liberally, and perhaps pay them in grain, as they did in Tanjore when I was there, in which case the rise or fall of prices affects them not at all.

I am not personally acquainted with Lower Bengal, but I feel sure the ryots there no longer follow the antiquated practice of storing grain as a safeguard against famine. Nature is bountiful, and no doubt the careful and more intelligent ryot there has learnt that it is better and easier to store his crop in the form of rupees. Mr. Hare's whole book is an attack on trade, and what he calls "the curse of modern civilization." Evidently he would agree with Horace where he says (with some reason, no doubt):

"Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,  
Ut prisca gens mortalium,  
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,  
*Solutus omni fenore*;"

but is it likely he can so put back the clock, or "Juggernaut car of Western progress," as Mr. Thorburn calls it? The survival of the fittest seems to be one of Nature's apparently cruel laws, and just now it is the agricultural labouring classes everywhere—not in India alone—who are suffering from it. As far as I can see, Mr. Hare has no practical remedy to suggest, and Mr. Digby now despairs of any. But surely the case is not quite hopeless even yet. Land nationalizers insist that if land is made freely accessible to labour all will be well; and, certainly, when every labouring man has the option of taking land for himself, instead of working for someone else, he will have been truly emancipated for the first time in the history of England. But that his right to get land will not save him from famine is, in India at any rate, a matter of sad experience; for, whatever defects it may have, the Madras ryotwari system of land-holding is, in fact, land nationalization, and everyone in Madras can almost always get land direct from the Government if he really wants it, or can do well by emigrating, and can also have land in his village *free of charge* on which to build his humble home.

It is useless to complain of evils unless one is prepared to at least suggest a remedy, and I, unfortunately, have no panacea to offer; but I do think that we should do all in our power to educate the natives to manage their own affairs, and reduce the number of Europeans employed, as far as may be compatible with safety. In other words, I would endeavour to make our rule more "enlightened" and less "selfish" every year, and I am inclined to agree with Mr. Thorburn that the tendency is in that direction, though progress is desperately slow. As I have said elsewhere, Mr. Hyndman's idea that we should extend the Mysore system, with its native administration "under light English guidance," seems the most practicable solution of our troubles that I have yet met with.

It is not likely that an intelligent ryot could be persuaded to sell his

reserves unless he has first fallen into the power of the money-lender; and certainly something might be done by well-to-do friends of India in the way of setting up agricultural banks; but they must be started by natives of the country, as Mr. Nicholson has pointed out in his invaluable report, and will be warmly welcomed by our present enlightened Government. After all, when a man sells his produce, he has (or ought to have) the value of it in cash, and would have it always but for want of "thrift"; the thrifty ones manage to keep it, and do not suffer. Moreover, it is probably true that but for the railways, which it is the fashion with our critics to decry, much of the grain that is exported would never have been grown at all, or would even have rotted on the ground, as it often used to do in inaccessible regions. Mr. Hare's discovery that districts mostly affected by famine are those through which the railways run—as if the railways had caused the famines—reminds me of the pious monk's comment on the goodness of Providence in causing all the great rivers to flow past the great towns. The railways were largely laid out through famine tracts, because they were so liable to famine.

*Chapter ii., p. 9.*—The most easily accessible stock is *money*—not grain, which is liable to all kinds of damage. It is not quite true that "the controllers of land and capital *always* pursue the working classes to their doom" (p. 11). On the contrary, the more intelligent and thrifty of the working classes frequently displace the others. I should say history familiarizes us with some famines in the old times which were even more terrible than any we have now, and when nothing was done to alleviate them. It is *not true* that "man" in those days "grappled with Nature, and was able to avert by common-sense the inevitable starvation." On the contrary, in those famines cannibalism was not uncommon, and even Brahmins were often reduced to eating dogs. "Common-sense," or, in other words, "thrift," would often avert starvation even now. Mr. Hare seems to recommend a return to the system of collecting the revenue in kind—the worst system ever known, as he will see by reading a report of the Hon. A. Seshiah Shastri on the State of Pudukottah in 1881. I have had some experience of that system myself in Pudukottah, and I know that Seshiah is entirely right. Under the old communal system no progress was possible, but that may be Mr. Hare's reason for approving of it.

The argument that because under British rule land has become more valuable (or, rather, individual rights to land have been largely developed), *therefore* the owners are worse off than before, because they are tempted to mortgage their land, and so get into debt, seems somewhat paradoxical to the ordinary mind, but is supported by Mr. Thorburn, and has been accepted as a basis of legislation in the Punjab. I cannot believe that any such legislation would be endured in Madras, where private property in land has existed for at least a century.

Some of Mr. Hare's statements are open to question. For instance, he says "Lord Curzon *will not* devote himself to the causes of famine or its prevention." But how can he possibly have any information on that subject? Lord Curzon may decline to speak because he has not satisfied himself as to the real causes of famine, or how it is to be prevented; but,



as a matter of fact, we know from a recent resolution that he has been devoting a good deal of thought to the question, and has practically accepted some of the suggestions recently made for mitigating the rigour of collection. In a note on p. 18 it is stated that "between one and two million die of insufficient food in every year of so-called plenty." I doubt if there is any good authority for such a statement. A great many—perhaps rather a larger proportion than in England—always suffer from "insufficient food," and some, no doubt, die of starvation and misery every year in both countries, but hardly, I think, a million. I am not aware if there are any trustworthy statistics as to the comparative prevalence of suicide in India and Europe, but I should be surprised if suicide from want and misery was not more common in Europe, (except, of course, amongst widows,) than in India. The digest of Lord Curzon's speech on pp. 18, 19, and the statement that all the officials in India and a great many others have conspired to say what they know to be untrue, is not very intelligible to me, but is certainly very libellous and offensive. It is strange that so many writers seem to think officials have neither the feelings nor the rights of ordinary people, and may be grossly insulted without the smallest hesitation. Speaking as an official myself, I have no doubt they are generally quite as conscientious as their critics.

The real question is, Why the ryots, when they have sold their produce, have no money in their pockets to buy food. That the unskilled labouring classes have none is not unusual or surprising, and the only remedy for them against starvation is to receive their wages in grain or emigrate, as many of them do in the South of India. Emigration is their great weapon when their employers are unjust, and many are the devices resorted to by the large farmer to keep his serfs at home one of the commonest being to keep a loan running against them, and a judgment of the court held over them *in terrorem*—not for actual use, except in case of attempted flight.

As to the interesting table on p. 25, it must be remembered that it was not till the Orissa famine of 1865 that we as a nation became fully alive to our responsibilities in this matter. The really terrible loss of life on that occasion aroused such indignation that for some time there was certainly a tendency to find famines where none existed—as, for instance, in Bengal in 1873—and scarcity was sometimes exaggerated into famine by district officers afraid of being charged with losing a single life contrary to the stringent orders then in force. It was partly in consequence of this feeling that the number of famines largely increased since 1865, so that we have nine famines in the thirty-five years from 1866 to 1900, and, unfortunately a greater number of provinces were affected in the two last than in any previous years. Then it will be observed that Madras seems to have suffered more constantly than any other province, with eleven famines in 119 years—from 1781 to 1900; but it must be remembered that Madras extends from Ganjam to Tinnevely, 950 miles, with a breadth of 450, and an area of more than 138,000 square miles, with a great variety of climates, so that there will often be famine in one part of it while there are copious harvests in another; and the great famine of 1877 was the only one that

was at all general. It need hardly be added that none of them affected the river-irrigated districts.

Mr. Hare's final recommendation is that "the affairs of India must be administered in the interest of her people, and not in the interest of the people who receive their annual tribute of £30,000,000." That either means that all the Europeans are to leave the country or that they are to give their services gratuitously. Does Mr. Hare seriously contemplate either alternative as an immediate remedy?

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*March, 1902.*

## AN IMPENDING FAMINE IN INDIA—A FORECAST.

(FROM OUR INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.)

It is generally acknowledged by Indian authorities that failure of monsoon and famine are convertible terms.

Lord Curzon most emphatically declared in a recent Government resolution that the relation, as of cause and effect, between a good rainfall, abundant crops, and agricultural prosperity on the one hand, is not more obvious than that between a bad monsoon, failure of crops, and a starving population on the other.

Such being the case, I venture to predict that the year 1902 will be memorable in Indian history chiefly for a famine of unprecedented severity, affecting large tracts of country, and causing untold misery to the people and loss of revenue to the Government.

I base my prediction upon a general experience of the Indian climate for several decades past, and also upon the fact that this year the cold weather temperature—*i.e.*, since the commencement of January—has been on an average about twelve degrees higher over the greater portion of the Indian peninsula than it should be, as compared to previous years. I may note here what has doubtless been observed by others, that the mango-trees have commenced to blossom about six months before their time—at least, in this part of India, the N.W. Provinces—which is a very bad sign.

An abnormally high temperature in the winter months means an early hot weather of exceptional severity. It also means a prolonged hot weather and delay in the advent of the periodical S.W. monsoon.

The result of these conditions will be that the soil will get thoroughly baked and hard as iron between now (February 7) and, say, June 15 next, rendering all agricultural operations difficult and unsatisfactory, and cattle will suffer terribly from want of grass. I have lived many years in India, and am not exaggerating when I tell you that already (February) there is great scarcity of grass in this the most fertile part of India, *viz.*, the Gangetic valley. What it will be like in June I am afraid to think.

I have said above that the soil will get thoroughly baked and hard, and I may add that this condition will be greatly aggravated by the want of trees, which is a very noticeable feature in the plains of India—at least, in the Panjab and the N.W. Provinces of India. The protection which the shade of trees gives to excessive evaporation of moisture and drying of soil is wanting to a lamentable extent, and, whatever the causes, India

is fast becoming a vast, arid waste—so far, at least, as these provinces are concerned.

One thing leads to another, and the result of this excessive baking and drying of soil for some six months before the advent of the S.W. monsoon will be that the whole volume of atmosphere over the Indian peninsula from north to south, and from east to west, will be abnormally heated up and deficient in humidity, which is a necessary factor in the production of rain-bearing clouds, and this defective production of rain-bearing clouds must, in its turn, lead to the general failure of the S.W. monsoon for 1902.

It is this abnormal local condition of an enormous volume of dry and heated atmosphere all over India, antecedent to the advent of the S.W. monsoon, which, I think, largely determined the total quantity of rain which that monsoon would give. Why is it that Siam, Burma, Assam, Manipur, Chin-Lushai, and Bengal proper seldom or never suffer from a total failure of rains? It is because these countries are well wooded and their climate more or less moist all the year round. The Meteorological Department in India, and the Indian public generally, ignore, I think, the local condition above described, and believe that the causes of a good or bad monsoon are entirely outside India, in the Indian Ocean and the countries to the S.W. of that ocean. This, I think, is a mistake. It is reasonable to suppose that the total production of rain-bearing clouds in the Indian Ocean, and the strength of the S.W. wind that brings these clouds from the ocean to India, are important factors in the quality of the monsoon; but what I believe is that, no matter how favourable to a good monsoon these factors may be, their favourable influence is rendered negative by an unfavourable "local condition" obtaining in India prior to the advent of the monsoon. If it takes two to make a quarrel, it also takes two to produce a good monsoon in India. Both external and internal causes must be taken into consideration. This year the heat promises to be phenomenal and the humidity very small, so, if my theory be correct, the S.W. monsoon will be poor and a famine may safely be predicted, while the fact that the spring crops in the Panjab dependent upon winter rains have almost entirely failed already will not tend to improve the situation.

Unfortunately, this "local condition" of excessive heat and dryness of atmosphere threatens to recur every year and thus become permanent, as India is now greatly denuded of trees and the absence of protection of shade in controlling excessive heat and dryness has likewise become permanent. One might be led to think from this that the gradual reafforestation of India (how nice it sounds!) is the one thing needful for India; in fact, this suggestion has been publicly made, and it is to show that it is economically unsound that I refer to it here. However fascinating the idea may be to convert India into a primeval forest once again, a little consideration will show that it will not be expedient to carry out the idea. India is essentially an agricultural country—it never will be anything more in spite of all fine talk about high education and technical industry—and for agriculture you want open fields and not forests. It is certain that you

cannot have fields and forests growing upon the same spot any more than two lines can occupy the same space, and anything like a general reafforestation of India is therefore out of the question. It may be laid down as an axiom that as populations increase forests must decrease, and the population of India now stands somewhere near three hundred millions. By all means plant your trees where there may be waste and fallow lands, but I doubt if their total effect upon the rains will be anything appreciable.

The moral of it all is that the Government of India will do well to take time by the forelock and to undertake extensive irrigation works over the length and breadth of the country before it becomes another Sahara Desert by the end of, say, the year 2400—*i.e.*, in another 500 years—though this, I think, is a very liberal calculation.

Much time has been lost by Indian economists, but it is never too late to begin. India is fortunate in having in Lord Curzon an energetic Viceroy and a far-seeing statesman, and it is a happy augury of the times that he has appointed an Irrigation Commission with a very able officer as its president, whose deliberations soon ought to be in print. I only hope this Commission will recommend no cheese-paring policy, as half-measures are always unsatisfactory.

Nature has provided India with many mighty rivers, the waters of which, alas! find their way to the ocean year in, year out. If only a quarter of the water that is thus wasted were turned to account, what a different story it would be! India would doubtless be a rich and prosperous country beyond the wildest dreams of avarice, and the gaunt spectre of famine laid low for ever.

It is true we have some irrigation works in India, but, unfortunately, it is also true that the amount of land for which irrigation is available is as yet a mere fraction of the land totally dependent upon rainfall for cultivation; and if, as recently stated somewhere, irrigation pays 6 per cent. upon the outlay, it is past all understanding why the Indian Government do not boldly go forward and devise means for irrigating the whole country without further heckling. What the Nile is to the Egyptians the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and a hundred other mighty rivers in India should be to the Indians.

In America President Roosevelt lately declared that in the western countries of the States, irrigation should be extensively adopted, as those countries can feed untold millions of people if so irrigated, and, depend upon it, Roosevelt will do what he will say, no matter what it may cost. It is necessary for India, I think, to follow the good example of Egypt and America in this respect, or permanent bankruptcy and ruin must result in the long-run.

It has been calculated that the Government of India have spent a hundred millions sterling upon railways within the last twenty years, while they have spent only twelve millions sterling upon irrigation works within the same period. Whatever be the reasons for this rush of railways in the past, it is certain that in the future policy of the Government of India irrigation must take precedence of railways, or an economic crisis will

inevitably result in the near future, presuming that bad monsoons will be the rule and good ones the exception in future years.

One word more and I have done. We have a Meteorological Department in India whose business it is to collect and publish information on different points connected with the monsoon, and to issue forecasts. The information they give is generally worded in such vague and mystical language that few can understand it or draw any conclusions from it. Instead of an endless repetition of such expressions as "centre of depression," "mean temperature," "cyclonic area," and other choice expressions which are crammed down the throats of the public with painful monotony, if they will condense their reports and issue a forecast fortnightly or monthly, and merely say that the monsoon will be strong or weak for such and such a part of India and for such and such a period, the Department might be able to justify its existence.

It is to be hoped that they will issue their first forecast soon, and that it will be a little more cheerful than mine.

INDIA, *February 7, 1902.*

#### AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in forwarding the recent Treaty to His Majesty's Minister at Tôkio, Sir C. MacDonald, explains that this agreement may be regarded as the outcome of the events which have taken place during the last two years in the Far East, and of the part taken by Great Britain and Japan in dealing with them.

"Throughout the troubles and complications which arose in China consequent upon the Boxer outbreak and the attack upon the Peking Legations, the two Powers have been in close and uninterrupted communication, and have been actuated by similar views.

"We have each of us desired that the integrity and independence of the Chinese Empire should be preserved; that there should be no disturbance of the territorial *status quo* either in China or in the adjoining regions; that all nations should, within those regions, as well as within the limits of the Chinese Empire, be afforded equal opportunities for the development of their commerce and industry; and that peace should not only be restored, but should, for the future, be maintained.

"From the frequent exchanges of views which have taken place between the two Governments, and from the discovery that their Far Eastern policy was identical, it has resulted that each side has expressed the desire that their common policy should find expression in an international contract of binding validity.

"We have thought it desirable to record in the preamble of that instrument the main objects of our common policy in the Far East to which I have already referred, and in the first article we join in entirely disclaiming any aggressive tendencies either in China or Corea. We have, however, thought it necessary also to place on record the view entertained by both the High Contracting Parties, that should their interests as above described be endangered, it will be admissible for either of them to take such

measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests, and words have been added which will render it clear that such precautionary measures might become necessary and might be legitimately taken, not only in the case of aggressive action or of an actual attack by some other Power, but in the event of disturbances arising of a character to necessitate the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

"The principal obligations undertaken mutually by the High Contracting Parties are those of maintaining a strict neutrality in the event of either of them becoming involved in war, and of coming to one another's assistance in the event of either of them being confronted by the opposition of more than one hostile Power. Under the remaining provisions of the Agreement the High Contracting Parties undertake that neither of them will, without consultation with the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests described in the Agreement, and that whenever those interests are in jeopardy they will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

"The concluding article has reference to the duration of the Agreement, which, after five years, is terminable by either of the High Contracting Parties at one year's notice.

"His Majesty's Government have been largely influenced in their decision to enter into this important contract by the conviction that it contains no provisions which can be regarded as an indication of aggressive or self-seeking tendencies in the regions to which it applies. It has been concluded purely as a measure of precaution, to be invoked, should occasion arise, in the defence of important British interests. It in no way threatens the present position or the legitimate interests of other Powers. On the contrary, that part of it which renders either of the High Contracting Parties liable to be called upon by the other for assistance can operate only when one of the allies has found himself obliged to go to war in defence of interests which are common to both, when the circumstances in which he has taken this step are such as to establish that the quarrel has not been of his own seeking, and when, being engaged in his own defence, he finds himself threatened, not by a single Power, but by a hostile coalition.

"His Majesty's Government trust that the Agreement may be found of mutual advantage to the two countries, that it will make for the preservation of peace, and that, should peace unfortunately be broken, it will have the effect of restricting the area of hostilities.

#### "THE EXACT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

"The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Corea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows :

## "ARTICLE I.

"The High Contracting Parties having mutually recognised the independence of China and of Corea, declare themselves to be entirely uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies in either country. Having in view, however, their special interests, of which those of Great Britain relate principally to China, while Japan, in addition to the interests which she possesses in China, is interested in a peculiar degree politically, as well as commercially and industrially, in Corea, the High Contracting Parties recognise that it will be admissible for either of them to take such measures as may be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power, or by disturbances arising in China or Corea, and necessitating the intervention of either of the High Contracting Parties for the protection of the lives and property of its subjects.

## "ARTICLE II.

"If either Great Britain or Japan, in the defence of their respective interests as above described, should become involved in war with another Power, the other High Contracting Party will maintain a strict neutrality, and use its efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in hostilities against its ally.

## "ARTICLE III.

"If in the above event any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, the other High Contracting Party will come to its assistance and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

## "ARTICLE IV.

"The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the interests above described.

## "ARTICLE V.

"Whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, the above-mentioned interests are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly.

## "ARTICLE VI.

"The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for five years from that date.

"In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said five years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

"In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective

Governments, have signed this Agreement, and have affixed thereto their seals.

"Done in duplicate at London, the 30th January, 1902.

"(L.S.) (Signed) LANSDOWNE,  
*His Britannic Majesty's Principal  
Secretary of State for Foreign  
Affairs.*

"(L.S.) (Signed) HAYASHI,  
*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister  
Plenipotentiary of His Majesty  
the Emperor of Japan at the  
Court of St. James's."*

### THE NATIONAL DEBT OF JAPAN.

Yasufumi Sawaki, in an interesting article in the *North American Review* of February last, sums up the National Debt of Japan as follows: "The present outstanding debts of Japan amount to 502,967,249 yen, of which 191,143,650 yen are devoted to remunerative objects. The population being forty-four millions, the amount of non-remunerative public debts per head is little more than 7 yen. The system of currency is based on the gold standard. Imports and exports are increasing every year. The total imports and exports, which were 143,494,000 yen in 1891, rose to 435,330,000 yen in 1899. Wine, spirits, tobacco, etc., are still subjected to a very light tax, while silk, tea, beer, and many other articles, are wholly exempt from taxation."

### THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR ORIENTAL STUDY AND RESEARCH IN PALESTINE.

We are pleased to learn from *Biblia* that this school or institute has now been established in Jerusalem, and as no suitable accommodation presented itself, the location of the school is temporarily in a large room formerly occupied by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, of the English Palestine Exploration Fund, in the Grand New Hotel. The nucleus of a library has been sent from America, and power has been given to Dr. Torrey to purchase additional books on his way through Europe to Jerusalem. The constitution of the school prescribes that it shall be open to duly-qualified applicants of all races and both sexes. Applicants from any of the institutions contributing to its support will be admitted on presenting a certificate of qualification from such institution. They will be expected to spend from October 1 to June 1 in connection with the school. They will be subjected to no charge for instruction, but must provide for all their personal expenses. These, it is believed, need not, with economy, exceed \$500, including the cost of passage out and back. For further particulars as to fellowships and other matters, see *Biblia* for February, 1902, Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.



## A NEW WORK ON INDIAN FOLK-LORE.

It is intimated that a work dealing with the earliest fairy tales of the aboriginal peoples of Central India is almost ready for publication, and when it is stated that the author-compiler has given more than twenty years to this one work, its scope may be imagined as unique.

Most singular specimens of the folk-tales, taken down from the mouths of the people and at last practically preserved in manuscript, are contained in the book.

Internal evidences point to the authenticity of these stories, whilst there are similarities between them and European folk-tales which are truly striking.

The author-compiler is Mr. Hugh Raynbird, junr., of Garrison Gateway, Old Basing, Basingstoke, Hants, who for some years was a resident in India, and has applied himself ceaselessly to the study of these fairy tales and their close connection with the tales of other countries. He has been assisted in his researches by his wife—Āsā Lakrā—an aboriginal, and without doubt the greatest Gammer Grethel of the present day.

We hope the compiler will obtain numerous subscribers for this interesting work, "The Folk-Tales of Cobraland." It is expected that it will be ready in the early autumn, and application should be made to the author as above.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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K. B. BASU; 106, GREY STREET, CALCUTTA, 1901.

1. *Memoirs of Maharaja Nub Kissen Bahadur*, by N. N. GHOSE, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate High Court, Calcutta, Fellow of the University of Calcutta, author of "Kristo Das Pal : A Study." The learned author, with the view of making the memoirs as complete as possible, searched, or caused to be searched, all the official documents in the libraries of the respective departments in India and at home, including the British Museum and the India Office in London. The work has been written at the request of Raja Binaya Krishna, a descendant of Nub Kissen; also the expenses of printing and collecting the materials have been borne by him.

The volume is well printed. It contains a copious index, and very many interesting and beautiful portraits of Rajas and Maharajas connected with the subject of the memoirs. All available facts, political or private, of the Maharaja's career, and the circumstances of the times, are so collected together from official documents as to form a most interesting narrative. His first appointment was as Persian tutor to Warren Hastings, afterwards Moonshee to the East India Company, and subsequently to Hastings and Clive. Ultimately he acquired, step by step, higher appointments, and in consequence of his faithful services, sometimes at the risk of his life, he acquired wealth and position, and hence founded his family. The work reflects great credit, ability, and skill on the part of the author.

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ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK; LONDON, 1901.

2. *North America*, selected by F. D. HERBERTSON, B.A., London; edited, with introduction, by A. J. HERBERTSON, PH.D. (Freiburg-i. B.), F.R.S.E., Lecturer in Regional Geography in the University of Oxford. This is a part of a series of descriptive geographies drawn from original sources, and selected from works written by eminent authorities who have visited the places and scenes described. It is well illustrated, with a copious and minute index, and a full and extensive bibliography, embracing the Far North, Canada, United States, the Cordilleras, and Mexico. The chapters on Alaska are specially interesting. After describing its physical features, its plants, and animals, it states that the Alaskan native is a seafaring one. "While the land cannot offer him sufficient subsistence to keep soul and body together, and affords only now and then a shelving beach for his squalid villages, the sea, on the other hand, gives bountifully of its kind. The Indian has come to utilize almost every product of the island, channels, and streams. His bill of fare consists of clams, mussels, herring and its roe, cod, salmon, halibut, porpoise, seal, duck, geese, and the eggs of aquatic birds." He is well acquainted with all the fishing-grounds. The halibut is caught by hook and line. The line is made "from the giant kelp, which sometimes attains a length of 300 feet in

channels where the sweep of the tide is strong. It is soaked and bleached in fresh water, then stretched, dried and worked, until it becomes a strong pliable cord." These extracts will give the reader but a faint idea of the excellent and useful descriptions of the places, inhabitants, towns and rivers covered by this exceedingly well-got-up volume. We observe that similar volumes are ready on Central and South America, and in preparation on Asia, Europe, Australia, and Oceana. The authorities from which the descriptions are derived are given at the end of each chapter, so that the reader may be able to obtain fuller information.

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W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1902.

3. *Sepoy Generals*, by G. FORREST, C.I.E. The reason for the existence of this volume is not very obvious. The subject, indeed, which is suggested by the title is novel and piquant, but the substance does not correspond. Of the nine officers mentioned, two were not Generals of Sepoys, and two—for practical purposes—were not Generals at all, while a fifth distinguished himself mainly as a civil administrator. The work has neither beginning, middle, nor end, and is not an organic whole, as a "book" should be; it is, in fact, nothing more than a number of magazine articles bound up together under a common title, which is evidently an after-thought. The first chapter consists mainly of a sketch of Arthur Wellesley's doings in Southern India, such as might be found in any standard history; while the last hundred pages are a hasty abstract of the war in South Africa, from the investment of Ladysmith to the surrender of Pretoria. Justice, however, requires the admission that the narratives are well told—barring inaccuracies, for some of which the printer is answerable—and the tone is high and manly. Mr. Forrest appears to have access to valuable materials and an appeal to the public such as is unusual with writers on Indian topics. Perhaps he may yet produce a real book on "*Sepoy Generals*," showing how the wonderful Indian Army has been created and by what manner of men. Biographical notices would in that case extend to such men as Clive and Coote, Benoit de Boigne, Lake, Ochterlony, in addition to some of those treated of here; and a curious comment might arise on Moltke's famous canon. When asked, some time before the war of 1870, as to the capacity of French Generals, the great strategist said that men who had learned war in fighting barbarians were not to be feared in modern scientific warfare; perhaps Indian experience might not altogether corroborate this rule.

In any case, and whatever were to be the plan, there are two omissions which ought to have been avoided. In the first place, the writer hardly ever notes the *year* in which the events he is recording occurred; great confusion occasionally ensues—*e.g.*, in the chapter on Wellington there is a general reference to the perils to which the nascent Empire was exposed during the early career of that famous man. In this Mr. Forrest observes that "*De Borgne*"—meaning General de Boigne of Sindhia's service—might join Raymond and other French officers in making war on the British. Now, apart from objections which will occur to experts, it is

enough to note that 1798 must be the year intended, and that in that year both the officers named had passed away, one by death, and the other by retirement. Secondly, whenever a critical point in the story of one of his heroes occurs, it is either ignored or dismissed with a few insufficient words. Thus, there is no light thrown on the annexation of Sindh in the chapter on Napier, though the veteran himself grimly confessed that "we have no right to seize it," and though another of his heroes—John Jacob—condemned the measure, root and branch, as did the chivalrous Outram. Indeed, Napier's high-handed, yet by no means straightforward conduct of that affair, involved a very strange aspect of a character otherwise noble and great.

As a sample of slipshod workmanship may be noticed the mention of the Governor of the Isle of France, with whom Tipu of Seringapatam had the intercourse which led to that singular chief's ruin. The Frenchman was General Malartic, in whose honour a monument still exists on the Champ-de-Mars at Port Louis. In the work under notice he is disguised as "Mr. Malartie."

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F. BRUCKMANN; MUNICH.

4. *Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte*, by ALBERT WIRTH. This is a style of book more suited to the German intellect than the English. Beef and beer are equally appreciated by both peoples; but the Philistine English mind is more apt to concern itself with the prices of those nutritive articles, the history of their "raising" and improvement, the prospects of continuing the future supply, and so on. The more reflective German, on the other hand, takes an intellectual pleasure in distinguishing between the *subjectiv* and *objectiv* aspects of beef and beer; the *ego* of it all, whether it really goes down the gullet of free-will or of necessity, and whether it is not rather the fact that "some other fellow" merely thinks it goes down. But, this reserve of British idiosyncratic rights once made, we must be generous and just to Dr. Wirth, and handsomely confess that he has done his present philosophical work very well indeed. He runs rapidly over the general results of all the historical past, from Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, Ibn Fozlan, Ma Twan-lin (who, by the way, was no historian at all, but only a compiler; nothing is said by M. Wirth of Sz-ma Ts'ien, the true father of Chinese history), down to the Middle Ages and to-day: he discusses the conflicting effects of "culture" and "race" in determining the rise and fall of State power, thus steadily leading our minds up to the objective goal. This all, of course, furnishes matter for very serious thought; just as the recent "Continental" discovery that life is merely a series of nerve changes from jelly to paste, and then back from paste to jelly, causes us all to pause, and our ear most seriously to incline for one moment to a consideration of our flabby and gelatinous subjective condition. But still we go about our practical business just the same, and get no "forrarder" with active life; no more able to stave off death.

"Ein Kulturvolk hat die staatliche Macht." That is the text of Mesopotamian, Babylonian, Accadian, Elamite, and Assyrian sermons alike. The

human puppets, the races, remain fixtures ; it is only a question, age by age, of who pulls the strings. It is rather startling to find a modern German philosopher saying: "Die Grundlagen unserer Zivilisation und eines Teiles unserer Kultur stammen von Babel dem 'Thore Gottes.'" Surely that must be rather a figurative than a practical conclusion? It is more to the point, however, to learn (what has often been stated before) that the discovery or the improvement of handwriting was in each case really the starting-point of all our so-called early civilizations. Then we are taken through Greek, Phœnician, Jewish, Roman, Persian, and other history: the main characteristics of the Arian, Turanian, Hamitic, and Semitic families are compared. The superior virtues of gentleness over brute force are recommended to us, and quite *en passant* we are given modern examples of our own erratic ways. "Russland hat in Polen und England in Südafrika sein Ziel nicht erreicht" (nothing is said of Poles in Prussia, or German efforts to balk England's *Ziel*). And thus it goes on, right away through Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Slavs, Malays, Germans, Celts, Gipsies, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Latinity, Pan-Slavdom, Pan-Anglo-Saxondom (an idea which has never even occurred to either British or Americans), Zionism, Pan-Buddhism, and Pan-Islam. Meanwhile, where do the Germans come in? Here we come to the goal, and translate our author: "The question is not one of world-wide rule, or of the annihilation of other peoples, or even of the political union between Germans separated from the Empire; but only one of a fair local share to be secured to Germans beyond the seas in the imperial culture at home." That seems to be the real meaning. In all parts of the world (he goes on to say) we find Germans under the influence of non-German culture; we want a new world of our own, where our own emigrants can develop on our own lines; and it is undeniable that we must soon take the offensive in order to assert Pan-Germanism. "Soll Deutschland zum Hammer werden, so muss es auch zum Zuschlagen kommen."

It will be seen that Dr. Wirth's book has after all a very practical aim; it is not all dry philosophy. "Kultur gehört zur Rasse, wie der Blitz zum Gewitter." It is perfectly clear that Germany has the *Kultur*; why then has the *Blitz* held back so long? In a word, Germany has been revolving these things very seriously in her cultured mind, and she is going to be a "Donnerwetter" hammer in future. Slavs, Anglo-Saxons, and any other inconvenient *Rasse* in the way, may either step aside or become the anvil. The Slavs in particular must look out for squalls, for "sollen die Deutschen sich gegen die Slaven behaupten, so ist kein Ausweg, als die Slaven niederzuhalten."

It is only fair to the author to state that he has just made the *grand tour* in person, for he adduces ocular evidence from Chicago, Moscow, Turkestan, the Persian Gulf, China, Japan, and Corea; and whether we agree with him or not, we must at least agree that he is a German of considerable energy and originality. His valuable *History of Siberia* was reviewed in our issue for October, 1900, since which time he has visited a great part of Asia, in order to see things for himself.—E. H. PARKER.

DEAN AND SON, LTD.; 160A, FLEET STREET, LONDON, 1901.

5. *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia*, by ALBERT F. CALVERT, F.R.G.S., author of "The Discovery of Australia," "The Exploration of Australia," "The Aborigines of Western Australia," etc. Second edition. A handsome quarto volume of 360 pages, profusely illustrating various places and incidents which came under the author's own personal purview. He has set down, as he himself says, "only such things as I saw and heard during my visit, and in so doing I have, to a large extent, sacrificed my opportunities of unfailing information in order to confine myself to a narrative of personal experiences. In previous books my object has been to advance the interests of the colony, and draw attention to her wonderful, but little-known, resources. But the object of the present volume is to interest and amuse." Apart from the ordinary statistical hand-books, there is no other work yet produced which affords so much accurate information and which creates so much interest. There are beautiful maps, also very numerous sketches of persons, places and incidents. Among the places visited are Albany, Perth, the Goldfields of Coolgardie, Geraldton, Cue, the Murchison, Roebourne, the Coast, Tambourah Creek, Nullagine, Talga-Talga and other places. The work is magnificent, and for the purpose intended it cannot be excelled.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1902.

6. *The Garden of Kâma, and other Love Lyrics from India*, arranged in verse by LAURENCE HOPE. To give an idea of the merits of this work, it will, perhaps, be fairest to notice, in the first instance, the composition at p. 133, viz., "The Garden of Kâma, the Indian Eros," from which its title is derived, and from which we quote as follows :

Verse 1. "The daylight is dying,  
The flying fox flying,  
Amber and amethyst burn in the sky.  
See, the sun throws a late,  
Lingering roseate  
Kiss to the landscape to bid it good-bye.

Verse 3. "We know not Life's reason,  
The length of its season,  
Know not if they know, the great Ones above.  
We none of us sought it,  
And few could support it,  
Were it not gilt with the glamour of love."

The story of Lilavanti (p. 73), which is, of course, meant to be intensely pathetic, contains the following description of a drowned "unfortunate" :

"By women here, who knew her life,  
A leper husband, I am told,  
Took all this loveliness to wife  
When it was barely ten years old.  
And when the child in shock'd dismay  
Fled from the hated husband's care,  
He caught and tied her, so they say,  
Down to his bedside by her hair."

It is really difficult to know where to begin the criticism of such effusions as these, of which the book contains 172, almost equally vapid, full of tawdry sentiment, imperfect metre, and occasional bad grammar. Some of the incidents related appear to describe personal adventures in varied regions of the East, ranging from Burma to Cashmere, and would be worthy of treatment by an abler Muse; while others, such as that of "His Rubies, told by Valgovind," and the story of "Udaipore, told by Lalla-ji, the Priest," are so *outré* as to be unworthy of publication.

A. R.

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CHARLES H. KELLY; 2, CASTLE STREET, CITY ROAD, AND 26,  
PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

7. *Scenes and Studies in the Ministry of our Lord, with Thoughts on Preaching*, by the REV. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College, twice President of the Wesleyan Conference. This admirable and useful volume, by a veteran educationist and preacher in connection with the Wesleyan denomination, will be read with much interest and no little profit. The "Scenes and Studies" are not sermons, but relate to passages of Scripture of special interest and importance in the history of Christ, such as His Baptism, His First Disciples, the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well, the Calling of the Apostles, the Sisters of Bethany, and many other incidents in the history of Christ, which have been favourite subjects of study during Dr. Rigg's long ministry and educational work as the head of the eminent training college in Westminster. Perhaps his *History of Preaching in the Christian Church, Ancient and Modern*, and his *Thoughts on Extemporaneous Preaching*, will be perused with special interest and usefulness by the sincere and faithful preachers of the Gospel of all Christian denominations. There is in the Appendix an interesting note on the eloquence and power of Dr. Newton's preaching. He was "charming as a half-colloquial orator; he was pathetic in his strokes of tenderness and pictures of distress; he was thrilling and powerful in his appeals; but he also deserves a reputation which has not always been accorded to him—that of a clear, able, consecutive expositor of Scripture, both textual and doctrinal."

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1901.

8. *The Oriental Club and Hanover Square*, by A. F. BAILLIE, F.R.G.S. The sumptuous volume before us is worthy of the spacious and eminently select club which occupies one corner of Hanover Square. The Oriental is an elderly, but not an ancient club; it dates from 1824, and was formed by a distinguished society of Oriental officers, chiefly Anglo-Indians, with the Duke of Wellington for President and Sir John Malcolm for its first chairman. The clubs of the eighteenth century were either dining societies or were devoted to play or politics. They were succeeded by various clubs of the modern fashion when George IV. was King; and among these the Oriental was one of the earliest. The age of the Nabobs had passed; men no longer amassed colossal fortunes, or combined the functions of soldier,

civilian, diplomatist, and merchant all in one ; and the age of officials had come in. This new race of Anglo-Indians had spent the better part of their lives in the East ; they were out of touch with English politics ; their old acquaintances were scattered, their relatives lukewarm, and their interests were mainly centred in each other. And so they founded the Royal Asiatic Society, and out of the Asiatic Society, where men met to read the papers and discuss things new as well as old, the Oriental took shape. The Asiatic has since then given birth to various learned associations, and its social gatherings are still as much appreciated as its lectures, but we do not think it has given rise to another club. Of course, the Oriental did not profess to be merely a sodality of good fellows, meeting because they loved to meet and enjoy their leisure after their own fashion. It took itself quite seriously like many other clubs ; it was to instruct the world on the condition of the East. And, as in the case of most other clubs, this part of its programme has fallen into the background ; like the Sultan's programmes, it is an excellent make-belief, and a man may enjoy as sound a siesta in its unfrequented library on a warm summer afternoon as in most other club libraries, or even in the British Museum Reading Room. The Oriental started with a very catholic constitution ; it admitted all who could show any connection with the East, although they had never been there. This led in 1847 to the creation of a second club for officials only—the East India United Service Club, in St. James's Square. This secession was also, perhaps, partly due to the situation of the Oriental, far away from ordinary "Clubland" in Hanover Square. Our author explains that in the early days of Queen Victoria Anglo-Indian magnates chiefly affected the large and solemn houses in Harley Street and Wimpole Street. The loss of a considerable part (but by no means the whole) of the official element was compensated by amalgamation with the Albert, a club with a literary reputation which had numbered Lord Byron among its members, and so many Bishops that a witty Lord remarked he could not enter the place without being reminded of his Catechism. Since the amalgamation with the Albert, there has been no further change in the constitution of the club, although, like all Anglo-Indian haunts, it has lost something of its distinctive character. Our author gives us some lively glimpses of the generation which frequented the club in the forties and early fifties : the ancient warriors with jingling spurs whose horses were led up and down before the hall door ; the fallow-faced, irascible gentlemen who lived on hot curries and tugged at their mustachios ; the member who would dine on many courses at 11 p.m. ; and the members whose hair-dye stained the club brushes. Among these striking figures of the past the author recognises General Charles Carmichael as a prototype of Colonel Newcome. The General was a man of action. One day when the club committee happened to be sitting, a chop was served not to the General's liking, and the General promptly ordered it to be laid with his compliments, before the committee. The newspaper wits occasionally made fun of these ancient warriors after the not over-refined fashion of the day, and the youthful students of the Royal Academy of Music used to treat them to a fanfaronade of all the wind instruments



from the windows opposite. Since 1860 the club has pursued the even tenor of its prosperous way, disturbed only by those questions which are a standing difficulty with every club committee—the admission of strangers, the rules as to smoking, and the coffee-room expenditure. The Oriental Club evidently regarded the last with a tender eye, for when their *chef* was imprisoned for stealing the club property, the committee pensioned his wife and family. There are many excellent stories scattered through these pages, and the author has made a readable work from unpromising material, but there is one defect: the references to India are very few, but they are generally wrong.

K.

LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1901.

9. *Arabic Manual*. A Colloquial Handbook in the Syrian Dialect, for the Use of Visitors to Syria and Palestine, containing a Simplified Grammar, a Comprehensive English and Arabic Vocabulary and Dialogues. The whole in English characters, carefully transliterated, the pronunciation being fully indicated, by F. E. CROW, late H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Beirut. This is No. IV. of Luzac's "Oriental Grammar Series," the other three being "Manual of Hebrew Syntax," "Manual of Hebrew Grammar," and "A Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar." The title fully explains the contents of this handy volume of 333 pages, which is a practical guide to the spoken languages of Syria and Palestine. It will be found most useful by both visitors to the East and students. We can fully recommend it.

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

10. *The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in their Bearing upon Christianity:—a Study in Indian Theism*, by FRANK LILLINGSTON, M.A. This little book is the work of a cultured and sympathetic mind, a study from the Christian standpoint of the best-known theistic schools of modern India. The author apparently addresses himself primarily to European readers, although not without a hope that his work may catch the eye of native students also; but in this, as in some other matters, he is occasionally too busy with his own intentions and ideas to explain himself clearly to his audience. The introduction deals with the past history of monotheism in India, but this is much the poorest part of the book. The writer is at his best in dealing with the Brahmo Samaj, where the influence of Western thought, becoming very visible, enables him to get into contact with the Eastern mind. He has sketched fully and clearly the difference between the easy eclecticism of the earlier Samaj, founded by Ram Mohan Rai, and the more ardent and enthusiastic school of Keshab Chander Sen. Ram Mohan Rai, the founder of the original Samaj, who made a fortune as head-clerk in a Government office, and always displayed a lively sense of the good things of this life, was hardly the man to count the world well lost for the love of God. Endowed with a lively intellect, an open mind, and a true admiration for virtue, he was able to found a philosophic school which imparted a certain elevation of character to its disciples,

and incited them to combat some of the grossest abuses of idolatry, but which could not be a seminary of enthusiasm or create any radical reform. A further step was necessary, and it was taken by Keshab Chander Sen, a man unlike his predecessor in everything except his openness to impressions from outside the circle of his ancestral creed. Keshab Chander Sen was a born enthusiast, not always consistent, it is true, but always eloquent, ardent, devoted, and emotional, and able to inspire the society which he founded with like feelings to himself. No wonder that he has prospered where the other failed. Mr. Lillingston's criticism of this new creed is just. He points out its subjective character, he says with truth that it sets up individual feeling and intuition as the sole test of objective truth, and he dwells on its want of a historical basis. All this is true and excellently put. Unfortunately, the very points he selects for condemnation are the points which commend it to the Hindoo mind. The dreamy character of Hindoo speculation is always subjective, and the Hindoo mind has rarely, if ever, felt the need of historical truth. Moreover, although Hindoo speculation has always been receptive of external influences, it never abandons its fundamental tenets; it adopts, it syncretises, it assimilates, but it does not radically change. And, above all, a faith which hopes to make converts must flatter the national vanity, it must assume a national basis, and it must exalt the Indian sages, with their aureole of traditional wisdom, to a level with any that the West can boast, if not to a pinnacle above them. This feeling, inherent in every religious movement of the Hindoo mind, is most apparent in Dayanandan Sarasvate's Arya Samaj, whose monotheism is tempered with pronounced hostility to Christianity. At the bottom of the feeling there is a germ of good which must be carefully preserved, if the Hindoo mind is to retain its self-respect; but politics have been the bane of religion in the East, not only of the pagan faiths, but of Muhammadanism and of Christianity itself. How to preserve the good and eradicate the evil is the problem which faces administrator and missionary alike. And for the solution of the problem the first and truest key is sympathy, and of that sympathy this little work shows a generous and abundant proof.

K.

II. *Kim*, by RUDYARD KIPLING. A remarkably interesting and instructive story of a certain phase of Indian life, its habits and peculiarities. It is interspersed with graphic descriptions of Indian towns and modes of travelling. It is beautifully illustrated. The author, from his intimate knowledge of Indian ways, has elucidated with accuracy the peculiar trait of Oriental thought and action. Kim is introduced as "white—a poor white of the very poorest." The half-caste woman who looked after him (she smoked opium, and pretended to keep a second-hand furniture shop by the square where the cheap cabs wait) told the missionaries that she was Kim's mother's sister; but his mother had been nursemaid in a Colonel's family and had married Kimball O'Hara, a young colour-sergeant of the Manericks, an Irish regiment. He afterwards took a post on the Sind, Punjab, and Delhi Railway. Kim's mother died, and the father took to drink and loafed about the line with the keen-eyed three-year-old baby. The child became the object of solicitude on the part of societies and

chaplains, as well as the Colonel (as the father said) "of one of the finest regiments of the world." Kim was left an orphan, but became adept as a message-boy, and carried messages of intrigue, during the night, from "sleek and shiny young men of fashion," who usually crowded the house-tops. In his peregrinations he came in contact with the faquirs, who frequent the shrines of Lahore, and from his alacrity and courtesy he was nicknamed "The Little Friend of All the World." He came in contact with a stranger, the like of whom he never saw before. He was old, nearly six feet high, and wore a peculiar garb. He had come from the hills and snow, "where the air and water are fresh and cool"—Bhotiyal (Tibet). He was a lama, on a pilgrimage to see "the Four Holy Places before I die." Kim became his companion and attendant on his pilgrimage to the holy places of Benares. The story details the various incidents during this pilgrimage, and the various grades of characters whom they met, and also an accurate description of the scenes and places on their way, all indicating the life and characteristics and mode of thought of the masses of the people. For a time Kim became separated from the lama, having been induced to enter a school (St. Xavier's), but he did not like the atmosphere and discipline of the school, and, taking advantage of a holiday, contrived to meet the lama, who received him again with fond affection. Having determined to return home from the object of his research, Kim accompanied him to the "mountains and the snow," and remained with him till his death.

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METHUEN AND CO.; 36, ESSEX STREET, LONDON, W.C., 1902.

12. *A Short History of the British in India*, by ARTHUR D. INNES, sometime scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. With eight maps. The object of this concise work is to set out clearly and in an attractive form the history of the various steps by which British supremacy was obtained in India. Such a volume forms an excellent basis for a more minute study of larger works. The analytical contents and the chronological summary of the leading events, under classified heads, from 664 to the transfer, in 1858, of the Government of India to the Crown, is extremely useful. There is also a copious index.

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JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1901.

13. *The Great Persian War and its Preliminaries: a Study of the Evidence, Literary and Topographical*, by G. B. GRUNDY, M.A., Lecturer at Brasenose College and University Lecturer in Classical Geography, Oxford. With illustrations. This volume deals exclusively with the Græco-Persian wars up to the end of 479 B.C. The author gives us fresh evidence as to the old history of these wars, and is of opinion that the treatment of pre-existing evidence is not satisfactory from a historical point of view. "Herodotus' evidence as an historian," he says, "differs greatly in value, according as he is relating facts or seeking to give the motives or causes lying behind them." The book consists of 579 pages, divided into fourteen chapters, under the following headings: Greek and Persian—Persian

and Greek in Asia; The Scythian Expedition—The Ionian Revolt—Persian Operations in Europe: B.C. 493-490; Marathon—The *Entr'acte*: B.C. 490-480—The March of the Persian Army: Preparations in Greece—Thermopylæ—Artemisium—Salamis—From Salamis to Plataea—The Campaign of Plataea—Mykale and Sestos—The War as a Whole—Herodotus as the Historian of the Great War. There are over thirty illustrations and six maps. We can cordially recommend this work to scholars and lovers of topography.

HAY NISBET AND CO., LTD.; 19, QUEEN STREET, GLASGOW, 1901.

14. *Russia: its Industries and Trade*. Issued by order of State Secretary S. J. De Witte, Imperial Russian Minister of Finance. The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. The object of this work is to make known the trade, the commerce, the industries, and the vast capacities, of the Russian Empire, so little known in Great Britain. With this view the Minister of Finance State Secretary ordered the production of this work, in connection with the recent International Exhibition in Glasgow, replying to questions that may interest Great Britain, in order to promote mutual commerce and industrial relationships. The volume treats of the social and economical conditions, land transport, waterway communications, workmen and labour laws, education, finance, home and foreign trade, joint stock companies, cereals, flour, industrial plants, pastures, horticulture, viticulture and wine-making, beet culture and sugar industry, the liquor traffic, tobacco-growing, hops, live-stock, poultry, fisheries, mining and metallurgy, and forests. There is also a magnificent map showing the gigantic railways already opened and those under construction and projected up to July 16 last. The progress of those railways is astonishing, and the products and capacities of the vast and various regions through which they pass are incalculable.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

15. *The Lore of Cathay, or the Intellect of China*, by W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D., President of the Chinese Imperial University, etc. It is over thirty years since the writer of these lines last had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Martin, who appears from the six photographs distributed over his present book to be a man of evergreen physique, and to have little changed in appearance since the gloomy days of the Tientsin massacre of 1870. With the exception of two or three lengthy pilgrimages to the shrine of Confucius in Shan Tung, and the city of the Jews in Ho Nan, his experiences, like those of his contemporary, Sir Robert Hart, have been chiefly centred around the dusty capital of Peking; and certainly no one more than "Hermeneutics" (as he was playfully called in the sixties) is more competent to write upon the above subject than the late President of the Peking University.

By far the best chapters in this erudite book (which is, however, largely *du rechauffé* from a previous set of publications) are those upon religion. Con-

sidering that Dr. Martin is nominally a missionary, he shows great liberality and breadth of mind in discussing this important general question ; more especially interesting is his pronounced specific opinion upon the comparative harmlessness, even from a Christian dogma point of view, of the much-discussed ancestor worship, with which it seems he would have us make a generous compromise ; in fact, he would, generally, advise more of the key and less of the crowbar in our attempts to open up the Chinese mind. Had he, in the expression of them, the full courage of his opinions, and were he not in some apparent dread of the American Mrs. Grundy, it is not unlikely that Dr. Martin would, in his old age, frankly develop the confession of error so manfully made upon page 277, abandon the narrow idea of dogma altogether, and admit that true Christianity consists, not in profitless forms, but in the kindness and human sympathy preached by Christ. Dr. Martin's public penance runs thus : " Two things excite my poignant grief when I look back to the mistakes of the past—one, the exclusion of a Church member for complying with the ordinary marriage ceremony of kneeling before a strip of paper, . . . and the other, the insisting on the surrender of ancestral tablets as a proof of sincerity on the part of an applicant for baptism."

The weakest chapters are those upon history and discoveries, which are by no means up to date. The researches of Dr. Hirth and Professor Chavannes have knocked on the head a good many crude notions concerning the earliest chronology, the compass, gunpowder, printing, paper, and so on. In the department of inventive economy the Chinese must take a firm stand upon silk and porcelain—they have really little else to boast of. To suggest (pp. 31, 32) that we cannot prove that the Jesuits did *not* borrow from China, and that Chinese notions *might* have led up to Darwin's doctrine, is totally beside the point.

It is plain that Dr. Martin has not had the opportunity of correcting the final proofs, for there are a great many irregularities in the transliteration of Chinese sounds. Moreover, although the bulk of the work seems to be printed after English canons, there are "considerable of" Americanisms ; not, true, in the style, but in the spelling. "On" the records of history is suggestive of "I am now living on Pine," for "I am now living in Pine Street"; whilst such words as *succor*, *marvelous*, *traveler*, and *worshipers* "grate on" the English (? Irish) eye, especially when *worshipped* or *worshipping* occurs a page or two afterwards. If Dr. Martin had been at home to control the publication, it is almost certain that he would have made for us an Index ; as it is, the value of an otherwise excellent book is seriously impaired, for "divil a word" of Index or Glossary do we find to aid the zealous reader withal ; this is specially to be regretted in a work which plunges fearlessly into the ocean of Chinese proper names, many of which (besides being ill-spelt or irregularly divided) are totally strange to the "ordinary" man.

Upon p. 319 there is a statement that the degree of *optimus*, or Senior Wrangler, is so exalted "that in 1872 the daughter of one was deemed sufficiently noble to be chosen for Empress Consort." This seems to be a complete mistake. The daughter of Ch'ungk'i (or Chungyi) was chosen

because he was a high-born Manchu, and no Manchu can (by rule) be a Senior Wrangler ; his was, however, a notorious exception.

On the whole, it is possible to speak very highly of Dr. Martin's book, and he may be congratulated upon having refrained from denouncing British and French barbarity—and that but lightly—more than twice ; it is not noticeable that he anywhere adversely criticises American policy ; for instance, their Exclusion Bills, their violent attacks upon Chinese in the Far West, their rather ungenerous restrictions in Manila, etc. The gifted author himself was, a year ago, taken to task by the Shanghai press for his unmeasured *delenda est Cambalu* opinions which followed immediately upon his escape from the "Boxer" attacks at Peking. Probably it is partly on this account that the new University is now being organized under other presidency ; not that the Chinese are petty or unforgiving in such matters, but because they may well be excused for taking the opportunity thus offered to separate on friendly terms from an old servant whose years may well excuse a little petulance. Either he or the old Dowager (who, it is believed, once nominated him for the Inspector-Generalship of Customs) may say to the other :

"How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is  
To have a thankless child."

It will be for the advantage of us all if Dr. Martin will settle down to polish up and reconstruct his stores of knowledge in better digested and sweeter form. In North China, or at least in Peking, the name of Ting Wei-liang (= William [Mar]tin) will for many years be a household word.—E. H. PARKER.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY ; 56, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON,  
E.C., 1901.

16. *The Ainu and their Folklore*, by the REV. JOHN BATCHELOR, F.R.G.S. (C.M.S. Missionary to the Ainu). Illustrated. Mr. Batchelor's book on "The Ainu and their Folklore" differs from most works of missionaries who have visited obscure regions of the earth for the purposes of evangelization. He has not entered upon statistics of the number of souls he believes he has influenced, but he gives us a somewhat closer acquaintance of this individual, curious and ancient tribe, whose peculiarities form a most interesting study. His work claims the attention of the historian, traveller, ethnologist, and missionary. All he has related aids us to a better understanding of the aborigines of Japan, who have been driven so far northward that their days seem numbered and their dynasty about to fail. The folklore stories may appear on a level of merit, but they faithfully delineate the minds of this child-like race, whose nature seldom rises to the fever-heat of passion or to the storms of sensational venture. Yet these legends have a charm which cannot be overlooked, inasmuch as they touch upon and interpret, here and there, the verbal histories of other lands, with remarkable parallels, that set us wondering through what agency the gossamer web of thought has found a foothold in regions so far remote.

Mr. Batchelor may be considered the pioneer of Jezo, and those who follow in his footsteps will find the land well surveyed; they should make no mistakes when approaching these people, or in the manner in which to proclaim "the glad tidings" of a higher, nobler life, a great hereafter, of an example to follow, of a life worth living. Yet the Ainu is not without his good qualities. Prehistoric barbarism has been supplanted by gentler characteristics; there is but little cruelty left in their nature. Animal creation is cared for—nay, even worshipped. Flowers and trees, reptiles, and other living things which surround them, play important parts of a strange faith that has satisfied dead generations. A religious system still exists of a belief in things present, established by virtue of ancestral convictions—accepted, but not proved. Weighed down by superstition, trammelled by customs, the Ainus, grand of physique though childlike in disposition, must not be forgotten or overlooked. The passive nature needs arousing, for, save for such able men as Mr. Batchelor, they would be more than content to remain as they are, or lag behind in this momentous era of the world's history, utterly ignoring the civilizing influence now penetrating to the farthest stretch of Eastern territory.—S.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO.; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1901.

17. *The Tale of the Great Mutiny*, by W. H. FITCHETT, B.A., LL.D., author of "Deeds that won the Empire," "Fights for the Flag," "How England saved Europe," "Wellington's Men," etc., with portraits and maps. This is a very concise and well-written tale of the great Mutiny in India. It ought to be perused and studied as a serious and an instructive lesson by the present generation, in whose keeping the just administration of Indian affairs rests. The work contains excellent portraits of Lord Roberts, Lieutenant George Willoughby of the Bengal Artillery, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Henry Havelock, Lord Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, and Sir James Outram, all illustrious in their respective spheres of heroic action, in defence of the British position in India, and which has resulted in inestimable blessings to the rulers and natives of the country. There are also maps, illustrating the military operations at Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Delhi, and the distribution of our troops on May 1, 1857, with a minute and carefully prepared index. The work is an admirable résumé of a most critical period of British history in India.

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICES;  
WASHINGTON, 1901.

18. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1897*. This Annual Report, ending June 30, 1897, contains Part II. of the U.S. National Museum. It opens with an admirable memorial of George Brown Goode, together with a selection of his papers on "Museums" and on the "History of Science in America." There are no fewer than 109 well-executed portraits of men of science and

literature, and concise memoirs, occupying more than 500 pages. There is also a very valuable index of men and subjects referred to in the volume.

The Annual Report for the year ending June 30, 1899, and a report of the U.S. National Museum, contain valuable and most interesting papers on anthropology, biology, geology, and other subjects of discovery and research; also papers describing and illustrating the collections in the Museum. The plates of the various objects are exceedingly well executed. The volume of nearly 600 pages closes with a minute index.

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THEOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY; LONDON AND BENARES, 1901.

19. *Apollonius of Tyana, the Philosopher-Reformer of the First Century A.D.*, by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S. This well-written volume affords a critical study of the only existing record of the life of Apollonius of Tyana. It also contains an account of the war of opinion concerning him, and a valuable introduction with respect to the religious associations and brotherhoods of the time, and an examination as to the possible influence of Indian thought on Greece. His principles, his mode of teaching, his travels in the East and in the South and West, his mode of life, his sayings, sermons, letters, and writings, and bibliographical notes, are all set forth in a clear and interesting style.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON.

20. *Prosperous British India: a Revelation*, by W. DIGBY, C.I.E. This book is full of very painful reading to anyone who is interested in the future of India, but it is difficult to criticise it within reasonable limits. Personally I am quite satisfied that Mr. Digby greatly underestimates the produce of the country in an ordinary year, and what might have been an admirable book of reference is, to my mind, sadly marred in parts by a sensational and sarcastic style ill-suited to the tragic character of the subject.

Some of the conclusions seem to me to be contradictory, and he proves too much when he says that the country only provides 3s. 4d. a head for each of its inhabitants, and yet exports large quantities of food grain. If there is no food in the country, how do the money-lenders support so many millions for several months every year?

It is too long since I left India for me to depend on my own knowledge of the condition of the people as I used to do, and it may have deteriorated in fifteen years, as he says it has; but the figures on which he bases his conclusions are quite hypothetical, and, in my opinion, untrustworthy. All these calculations as to the gross produce depend on an assumed ratio between it and the Government assessment, as to which ratio none of us agree. Mr. Digby quite arbitrarily takes it at 10 per cent., Mr. Naoroji used to make it 12½, but the Government of India say it is from 5 to 8, and I am inclined to think it must be even less than 5 per cent. in Bengal. Obviously there is room for great errors in such calculations.

Unfortunately, however, many of them are based on figures furnished by the Government itself, and on statements of officials still in the service of the Government. But mistakes are not uncommon even in Government



statistics, as, for instance, on p. 559, where the half of R6.13.3, being (apparently) given as R5.8.7, instead of R3.6.7, has led Mr. Digby, and perhaps Mr. Dutt, to believe that it is quite usual in Madras to take 31 per cent. of the gross by way of assessment. We all know that such cases are quite exceptional, though I am aware that there is land assessed as low as four annas an acre, which never could show any "net" produce at all if the cultivation expenses are calculated on the principles of the Settlement Department. Such land is held on puttah for other reasons altogether, sometimes simply to prevent a stranger from taking it up.

On the whole, however, Mr. Digby seems to me to have made out a case from the mouth of the Indian Government itself which loudly calls for some such minute inquiry as has been suggested (apparently in vain) by the Famine Union.—J. P.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Picturesque New South Wales : a Guide for Settler and Tourist*, prefaced under the direction of T. A. COGHLAN. (Sydney : William Applegate Gullick, Government printer. Agent-General's Office, 9, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.) This well-known author has condensed his vast knowledge of New South Wales in a short but picturesque volume for the guidance of settlers and tourists. It contains a historical sketch, the geography and climate of the colony, its fauna and flora, its government and social and commercial conditions up-to-date, its industries, Sydney and its surroundings, and the Western, Northern, and Southern districts. The illustrations of scenery, places of industry, and other objects of interest are beautifully executed, and the statistics and other information drawn from official records are concise and accurate.

*A Sketch of the Vedānta Philosophy, to which is prefixed that of the Life of Sujna Gokulaji Zālā, a Typical Vedāntin*, by MANASSUKHARĀMA SŪRYARĀMA TRIPĀTHI. Second edition. (Bombay : N.M.T. and Company, Kālikādevi Road, 1901.) A well-written and interesting biography of one who, by his zeal, perseverance, honesty, and religious principles, rose from the ranks to be the trusted and high official of the Junagādh States. The biography is accompanied with a concise outline of the Vedānta philosophy derived from various sources. There are also an excellent photogravure of Zālā and a minute index.

*Hindustani Self-Taught*, with English Phonetic Pronunciation, containing Vocabularies, Idiomatic Phrases and Dialogues, Travel Talk, Military, Legal, Religious, Commercial, Shooting, Fishing terms, Money, Weights, Measures, Indian Titles, Castes, Festivals, by C. A. THIMM, F.R.G.S. (London : E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, E.C., 1902.) The title explains the object of this handy work, and will be of practical service to travellers, traders, missionaries, and soldiers, as well as students, who find themselves among those of whose language they are totally ignorant. The second part, the "Grammar Self-Taught," is in course of preparation. In the first column the English word is given, in the second the Hindustani words are given in Roman characters, and the pronunciation phonetically in the same characters in the third column.

*The Rise of British West Africa, comprising the Early History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Lagos, Gold Coast, etc.*, by CLAUDE GEORGE, of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sierra Leone. Part I., complete in five parts. (London: Houlston and Sons, 7, Paternoster Buildings, E.C. Plymouth: William Brendon and Son, 1902.) This work promises to be interesting and valuable. It is to be completed in five parts. The present part is well printed, commencing with the statement of Herodotus as to the voyage and exploration of Africa by Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt (B.C. 600). When the whole work is completed there will, no doubt, be the usual title-page, contents, and index. The information contained in the present part is derived from interesting letters, and other official documents.

*Travel in the First Century after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor*, by CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL, former Student of Girton College, Cambridge; Lecturer in History, Westfield College, Hampstead. (Cambridge: University Press, 1901.) A well-written and interesting history of the mode and roads of travelling by all classes, from the prince to the peasant, from the merchant to the travelling beggar, in the first century of the Christian era, throughout the Roman Empire in the West and Asia Minor in the East. The work is accompanied with good maps and a minute index. The information of the author has been derived from ancient classical authors as well as from modern writers, and she has executed her task with accuracy and skill.

*Famine in India: Its Causes and Effects*, by WILLIAM L. HARE, Editor of the *Candlestick*, with a foreword by WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E. (London: P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Westminster.) See Mr. Pennington's letter elsewhere in this *Review*.

*The Chronology of Ancient India*, by VELANDAI GOPALA AIYER, B.A., Pleader, Chittoor. (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, 1901.) This is a short and valuable treatise, the first of a series. It contains researches, beginning with the Kali Yuga, next the date of the Mahabharata War, closing with the Four Yugas. The second volume is expected to be ready this year, containing an inquiry as to the Kaliyuga, which the learned author maintains began in 1177 B.C. instead of 3102 B.C., and as to the dates of Vishnu Purana, the Rigveda, the Aryan immigration, and other interesting subjects relating to Indian Chronology.

*The Gold Coast Guide*, by the REV. J. B. ANAMAN, F.R.G.S., F.R.M.S., author of the "Fanti Spelling Book," assistant author of the "Fanti-English Dictionary," etc. (*Christian Herald* Office, 6, Tudor Street, London, E.C., 1902.) An exceedingly well-got-up guide of the Gold Coast. The first edition was published at Cape Coast in 1894, and the present edition was published in London, greatly improved, at the end of last year. It contains, under specific heads, every possible information on geography, history, education, agriculture, commerce, population, hints on outfit, the preservation of health, missionaries, and various other particulars interesting and useful to European inhabitants and intending emigrants.

*On Traces of an Indefinite Article in Assyrian*, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. (London: David Nutt, 57, Long Acre, 1902.) Mr. Thompson in his reading and copying certain Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform texts preserved in the Museum, has noted from time to time a considerable number of passages in which the case-endings of the noun have been dropped, notwithstanding the fact that the noun is obviously not in the construct state. Other Assyrian scholars have noticed the same thing. Mr. Thompson in his short treatise discusses the whole matter, and gives beautifully executed representations of inscriptions, illustrating his conclusions. The treatise will prove interesting to all Assyrian scholars.

*Presidential Address of the Seventeenth Indian National Congress*, Calcutta, December 26 to 30, 1901. The President, MR. D. E. WACHA. This important address deals with a variety of subjects, such as famine, in its various aspects, State and private relief, the policy of administration, agrarian legislation, irrigation *versus* railways, agricultural banks, grain storage, the condition of the masses, the economic evils of absenteeism, Indian finance, taxation and currency, military and other public expenditure, industrial development, and other public questions, all of which deserve the close and sincere attention of the Government, and the statesmen who control Indian affairs both at home and in India.

*The Briton's First Duty: the Case for Conscription*. Cheap edition. Revised throughout. By GEORGE F. SHEE, M.A. (with an introduction by COLONEL LONSDALE HALE). With diagrams. (London: The Army League and Imperial Defence Association, 8, King Street, Cheapside, E.C., 1901.) A well-written patriotic production, showing the necessity for more vigorous action towards home defence as the heart and keynote of the defence of the whole Empire. The diagrams are very instructive, interesting and important, and ought to be carefully studied by every citizen who loves his country and homestead.

*The Things Above: Helps Heavenward* (second series), by GEORGE G. FINDLAY, B.A., D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 2, Castle Street, City Road, E.C., and 26, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1901.) This volume forms part of the second series entitled "Helps Heavenward." It embraces, among other subjects, "Coming to Mount Zion," "Serving and Waiting," "Maran Atha," the "Ascension," and "Resurrection." The author's style is clear and laconic, as will be seen from the following quotation: "Without the sun in heaven there is neither day nor life; and without God and the immortal future there is neither man nor duty, neither safe guidance nor a worthy end for our present faith." The perusal of the work will be highly profitable and refreshing to the Christian.

*Books for Bible Students*, edited by the Rev. ARTHUR E. GREGORY, D.D., Principal of the Children's Home. *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to Timothy and Titus*, by R. MARTIN POPE, M.A. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 2, Castle Street, City Road, and 26, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1901.) A very useful and valuable work, not only to students of the Greek text, but also to lay preachers and Christian workers.

*The Great Symbols*, by W. J. TOWNSEND, D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 2, Castle Street, City Road, and 26, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1901.) This volume contains a valuable introduction on the meaning of the scriptural and ecclesiastical term "Symbol," and on the "Sanctuary," "the Ark of God," "the Cherubim," the "Sacrifice for Sin," "the High Priest and his Vestments," "the Seven-branched Lamp Stand," "the Altar of Incense," "the Table of Shewbread," "the Laver," "the Abolition of Symbolism," "the Veil before the Holiest." All these served their purpose, but all passed away by the death and resurrection of Christ.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications of George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain*, January, February, March;—*The Sunday Strand*, January, February, and March;—*The Strand Magazine*, January, February, and March;—*The Citizen's Atlas*, parts 8-12;—*The Wide World Magazine*, January, February, and March;—*From Cradle to Crown: King Edward VII.*, part 1, to be completed in twenty parts;—also *Archæological Survey of India*, a Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the region of Kapilavastu, during February and March, 1899; illustrated by 32 plates by Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji, with a prefatory note by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, B.A.; No. 26, part 1 of the Imperial Series (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1901);—*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1900, vol. xxxviii., published by authority of His Excellency the Governor; and *Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1900-1901* (Bombay: printed at the Government Central Press, 1901);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the Year ending March 31, 1901* (Allahabad);—*The Indian National Congress Cartoons from the Hindi Punch (from 1886 to 1901), with a selection of the Indian Social Conference Cartoons* (2nd edition, greatly enlarged), edited by Barjorjee Nowrosjee (Bombay: "Bombay Samachar" Press, Frere Road, Fort);—*Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii., part 1 (Seoul, Korea: Hon. Librarian; London: Kegan, Paul and Co., Ltd.; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, etc., 1901);—*Catalogue of the Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum Library* (Colombo, Ceylon: H. C. Cottle, acting Government Printer, 1901);—*The Doctrine of the Perfect One, or the Law of Piety*, compiled by Major-General D. M. Strong, C.B. (London, Luzac and Co., 1902);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Co., Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, publiée par le comité de l'Institut de Carthage, sous la direction d'Eusèbe Vassel (Tunis, au Secrétariat Général de l'Institut);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesell-*

*schaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*Sphinx*, revue critique, embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, par Karl Piehl (Upsala: C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate);—*Die Kultur*, Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Litteratur und Kunst (Vienna and Stuttgart: Jos. Roth);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Imperial Institute Journal* (London: Waterlow and Sons);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, (Simla: Government Central Printing-Office);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*The Magazine-i-Hind* (Meerut);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1901);—*United India*, vol. i. Nos. 1, 2, 3 (a newspaper published and printed by G. Subramania Iyer, at the Swadesamitran Press, Madras).

We regret that want of space obliges us to again postpone till our next issue *Burma under British Rule, and Before*, by John Nisbet, D.C.E., late Conservator of Forests, Burma, author of "British Forest Trees," etc., in two volumes, with maps (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 2, Whitehall Gardens, 1901), and also the following: *With the "Ophir" round the Empire: an Account of the Tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales*, 1901, by William Maxwell, special correspondent of the *Standard*, illustrated (Cassell and Co., Ltd., London, Paris, New York and Melbourne, 1902);—*Naval Brigades in the South African War, 1899-1900*, written by officers attached to the various brigades, and edited by Surgeon T. T. Jeans, R.N., with an introduction by Commander Chas. N. Robinson, R.N. (retired), with maps, plans, illustrations, etc. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C., 1901);—*The Victorian Anthology*, edited by the Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., late Governor of the Madras Presidency (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1902);—*The Gospels and the Gospel: a Study in the most Recent Results of the Lower and the Higher Criticism*, by G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London and Benares Theosophical Publishing Society, 1902);—*A Ride in Morocco among Believers and Traders*, by Frances Macnab, author of "Relics," "On Veldt and Farm," "British Columbia for Settlers," etc. (London: Edward Arnold, 1902);—

*On Active Service with the Chinese Regiment: a Record of the Operations of the First Chinese Regiment in North China from March to October, 1900*, by Captain A. A. S. Barnes (London: Grant Richards, Leicester Square, 1902);—*The Story of Burma*, by Ernest George Harmer (London: Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, E.C.);—*Speeches Delivered in India, 1884-88*, by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. *Our Viceregal Life in India*, by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, with map. New and cheap edition (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Oxford English Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. *Lap—Leisurely* (vol. vi.), by Henry Bradley, Hon. M.A. Oxon. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and New York; Henry Frowde);—*Shakespeare's Macbeth and the Ruin of Souls*, by William Miller, C.I.E., D.D., LL.D., Principal of the Madras Christian College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade Row);—*With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple: Narrative of Four Years' Residence on the Tibetan Border, and of a Journey into the Far Interior*, by Susie Carson Rijnhart, M.D. (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1901). *Who's Who in America: a Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of the United States, 1901-02*, edited by John W. Leonard (Chicago: A. N. Marquis and Co.);—*The Subjects of the Shah, etc.* (London: Church Missionary Society);—*The Udāna; or, the Solemn Utterances of the Buddha*, translated from the Pali by Major-General D. M. Strong, C.B. (London: Luzac and Co., 1902);—*Japan, Our New Ally*," by Alfred Stead, illustrated (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902);—*British India and England's Responsibilities*, by J. Clarke, M.A. The Ethical Fellowship Series, vol. i. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1902).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—On February 14 Lord Curzon issued a proclamation formally announcing that the Coronation festivities in connection with the accession of the King will take place in January, 1903, at a special Darbar to be held at Delhi. Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, heads of administrations, princes, chiefs, nobles, and representatives of the people, will be invited, and orders in the Viceroy's Council will be issued forthwith for appropriate public ceremonies and rejoicings.

A Government resolution announces that an annual provision of one lac of rupees will be made for the preservation of ancient monuments, and urges that the provinces should also fix annual payments for this purpose.

The Budget estimates for 1902-3 show a surplus of £838,000, with closing balances on March, 1903, of £10,832,000 in India, and £4,851,000 in England.

The Government has issued a resolution dealing with recent attacks on the land revenue system. It explains the principles of the system, replies to the criticisms urged against it, and maintains that the system is well suited to the present conditions of the country, and compatible with its future development ; and that the revenue which it provides, and which is more lenient in its incidence than at any previous stage of Indian history, is capable of being levied from the people with surprisingly little hardship and without discontent.

In the middle of March the number of persons in receipt of famine relief was 380,000. There was still no sign of rain.

The seventeenth Indian National Congress was opened in Calcutta at the end of last December. Mr. D. E. Wacha presided, and over 5,000 persons were present. Resolutions were passed on the questions of famine, the separation of judicial and executive functions, the strengthening of the Privy Council by the appointment of Indian lawyers, police reforms, and other subjects.

The Indian Social Conference was also held at the same time, under the presidency of Raja Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur, the leader of the Calcutta Orthodox Hindu community. The conference emphasized the necessity of widespread female education at home and in public institutions. Other resolutions referred to the sea-voyage movement, the admission into Hindu society after a sea-voyage, the fusion of the subcastes, the curtailment of marriage expenses, the raising of the marriageable age, the relaxation of the rules regarding intermarriages, child-widow marriages, the admission of converts to Hindu society, the establishment of orphanages, and the spread of temperance and purity. With the exception of the widow remarriage and subcaste fusion questions, all the other resolutions were unanimously carried.

The conferences on Rajkumar Colleges, over which His Excellency the Viceroy presided daily, ended on January 30. All the main questions were fully thrashed out, and a select committee, consisting mainly of heads

of colleges, continued to sit and submit proposals regarding the best curriculum to be adopted in future.

The Sind Muhammadan Educational Conference met at Haidarabad on January 4 and 5. A number of resolutions were passed, amongst which were those relating to the organization of committees, the opening of rural schools with religious instruction, the teaching of subjects of practical utility, the provision of boarding-houses for the sons of Zemindars at ten of the principal centres, also dealing with the education of those boys desirous of entering Government service, and for the acquisition of suitable text-books for the moral and religious instruction of Muhammadans, etc., etc.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab on New Year's Day unveiled a statue of the late Queen-Empress which has been erected in Lahore as a memorial of the Diamond Jubilee.

Colonel Sir T. J. Gallwey has been appointed principal medical officer in India.

Professor J. H. Marshall, late of King's College, Cambridge, has been appointed to the newly-created post of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Mr. H. A. Kirk, Director of Traffic of the Indian Traffic Department, has taken up his new appointment of Director-in-Chief of the Indo-European line (Karachi-Teheran section).

The tariff between Great Britain and India and Burma has been reduced from 4s. and 4s. 2d. per word respectively to 2s. 6d. from last month.

The final revised census returns show that the population of India is 294,266,701.

The out-turn of the tea crop for the year 1901 was 165,263,453 pounds, as against 177,677,257 in 1900.

Indian Railway earnings in the nine months ending December 31 last were no less than one and three-quarter crores above the earnings in the corresponding months of 1900.

The Victoria Memorial Fund now amounts to nearly 39 lacs.

Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous explorer, paid a visit last January to India, at the Viceroy's invitation. He came from Ladakh, and returned to Sweden by Ladakh, Kashgar, and Russia.

His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Rai Bahadur Bipen Krishna Bose have been appointed additional members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

Sir Harman Singh has given Rs. 50,000, to be managed by a committee, for scholars and for poor Indian Christian students in the Panjab.

Passengers proceeding to Australia from India are required by the Australian Government to be certified as British subjects before being allowed to land. Applications for certificates of identity should be addressed to the local Governments of the Provinces to which intending passengers belong, and not to the Government of India.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Punitive columns left Jandola, Jam Khel and Datta



Khel on January 1, under the command of General Dening, Colonel Macrae, and Colonel Tonnochy respectively, for further operations against the Mahsud Waziris. The columns destroyed many of their strongholds and villages before they gave in. They have now paid the fine imposed (Rs. 20,000) in full, and delivered up the rifles demanded. The blockade has now been withdrawn, the Mahsuds having given security for replacing looted cattle, and for the expulsion of certain outlaws from their country. The Reserve Brigade has already moved back.

On February 9 between 200 and 300 Afridis raided a village ten miles from Jamrud, carrying off some cattle. They were, however, overtaken by a company of Khaibar Rifles, who recovered the cattle and took eleven Afridis prisoners.

CEYLON.—General satisfaction prevails amongst all classes at the extension of Sir J. West Ridgeway's term of office as Governor till October, 1903. His Excellency will visit England to represent the Eastern Colonies at the Coronation ceremonies.

The Bishop of Colombo has been appointed to succeed Dr. Welldon as Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.

The population of the colony has increased in the thirty years 1871-1900 from 2,417,000 to 3,530,000 in round numbers. About half this was due to immigration.

BURMA.—In January last the Lieutenant-Governor opened the Mandalay Canal at the Sedaw head works, which will irrigate an area of 89,000 acres, and yield, it is calculated, a revenue of 337,555 rupees, the net return on expenditure being estimated at 7·55 per cent. The canal is from 30 to 35 feet deep, and the average width about 57 feet.

PERSIAN GULF.—All is quiet at Koweyt. The Sheikh Mubārak's capital is in a state of defence.

The Resident at Bushire, Colonel Kemball, made his annual tour round the Gulf in January; he visited Lingah, Bandar Abbas, the Arabian Coast, and the Shatt-ul-Arab.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Meade, C.I.E., has been appointed Consul-General for the Provinces of Fars, Khuzistan and Laristan, and the district of Lingah, and for the coasts and islands of the Persian Gulf being within the dominion of Persia, to reside at Bushire.

AFGHANISTAN.—As the Amir was anxious that the refugees who had left the country in recent years should return to their former homes, a large party of them have taken advantage of the Amir's offer. Amongst others were Mir Khāja Jān Sāhibzādah and Mir Abdur Rasul Sāhibzādah of Kūhistan, with their families. General Mir Atta Khan, formerly Commander-in-Chief, who was imprisoned a year ago by the late Amir, has been released and reappointed to his former post.

There appears to be a feeling of unrest due to the predominance of the fanatical element, fomented by the Hadda Mulla, who is said to have the Amir completely under his influence.

The season has been abnormally dry, and apprehensions of impending severity are beginning to be felt. The Amir, as a precautionary measure, has stopped all export of grain from the country.

BALUCHISTAN AND MEKRAN.—A gang of raiders from Persia, under the leadership of Muhammad Ali, had last year successfully raided Kantdar, in Mekran, and had seized the fort of Nodiz, belonging to Muhammad Omar. Here they were blockaded by the Nazim of Mekran with 985 men, who besieged the fort for fifty-three days, but, having no artillery, failed to capture it. Later a force under Major Showers arrived and took the place by assault. Muhammad Ali was killed and the band broken up.

The Government of India has sanctioned a grant of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees for increasing and improving the water-supply of Quetta.

The Amir of Bukhara has lately paid a visit to St. Petersburg.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The line of the Damascus-Mecca Railway has been completed from El Mezarib (63 miles south of Damascus) for another 25 miles southwards, and the earthworks for a distance of another 40 miles. The total amount subscribed towards the cost of the undertaking up to the present is over £400,000.

Abdul Aziz bin Feysul, a descendant of the old Wahabi Amirs, with an army of 2,000 men, has captured the city of El Riad in Central Arabia. It is believed that the Wahabi dynasty is endeavouring to regain the supremacy, to overthrow Ibn Rashid, and to conquer Nejd. Many tribes are flocking to the Wahabi banner.

Many cases of cholera have been reported at Medina, and some at Mecca. Quarantine has been imposed by Turkey on arrivals from the Hejaz coast between Yambo and Mamurat-el-Hamidiyyeh.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—An earthquake occurred in the Shemakha district of Transcaucasia on February 13 last, which was attended by very great loss of life. The town of Shemakha, inhabited mainly by Muhammadans, was almost completely destroyed. Over 2,000 persons were killed, 4,500 houses were destroyed, and 25,000 inhabitants rendered homeless and foodless; 126 villages were affected by the disturbance and numbers of cattle perished. Near the village of Marasa, east of Shemakha, a volcano is in active eruption.

CHINA.—The Chinese Court returned to Peking on January 7, the Imperial *cortège* passing between a double line of soldiers, all kneeling, who lined the route for a distance of four miles. The Emperor and Empress-Dowager were attended by 1,000 Chinese noblemen.

The total claims filed against China amount to 461,000,000 taels, while the amount of the indemnity for which China has given a general bond is 450,000,000 taels. Negotiations are proceeding for the subtraction of 11,000,000 taels from the claims, but no agreement has been reached. The proposal for a *pro rata* reduction is entirely unjust. The British claim is considerably less than the actual military expenses and the losses of British subjects, and Sir E. Satow has refused to accept any reduction in view of the exorbitant claims of several secondary Powers, which enormously exceed their expenditures and losses.

The Government is paying the indemnity to the Powers in monthly instalments, in accordance with a protocol.

On February 3 an agreement was signed between Mr. Detring, representing the Inspector-General of Customs, and the Provisional Government

of Tien-tsin, regarding the collection of the *likin* dues at present collected by the Provisional Government. The latter agrees to pay the foreign Customs 700,000 taels per annum in twelve monthly instalments, commencing on March 1 last, during the continuance of the Provisional Government, and on its cessation the whole revenue derived from the dues, the staff, the books and offices, etc., shall revert to the foreign Customs, the collection of the Tien-tsin *likin* being thus brought under the foreign Customs control.

Russia has informed the Chinese plenipotentiaries that she refuses to amend the Manchurian treaty.

The condition of the interior of Manchuria is said to be unsatisfactory and the animosity to Russia is increasing. The Russian troops in the province number about 63,000 men.

A rebellion which broke out in the Nan-ning district threatened to become grave, many soldiers having joined the ranks of the insurgents. Marshal Su has arrived at the scene of rebellion from Hu-pei, and has defeated the rebels at Lang-chau.

Cheng Te-yi has been appointed Chinese Minister to Great Britain in the place of Sir Chihchen Lofêngluh.

KOREA.—The Government has officially notified to the French Minister that it considers the loan contract of last April void and ended through lapse of time, and the absence in the contract of power to transfer loan rights to another syndicate or any third party.

JAPAN.—The foreign trade of the country for 1901 shows 251,750,000 yen of exports, and 255,500,000 yen of imports, against 198,750,000 yen and 282,500,000 yen respectively for the preceding year. The outflow of gold was 800,000 yen.

The question of the purchase of railways by the State is now being revived, and it is understood that the Premier is in favour of this step on strategical grounds.

The Budget shows ordinary revenue amounting to 225,000,000 yen, and ordinary expenditure to 177,500,000 yen. The surplus, together with 38,000,000 yen obtained by selling the Chinese new indemnity bonds, and 15,500,000 yen taken from the Chinese old indemnity and miscellaneous sources, is proposed to be devoted to redeeming the national debt, building railways and telegraphs, and restoring the naval maintenance fund.

The capital of the newly-established Crédit Mobilier (10,000,000 yen) was subscribed three times over.

An important agreement has been concluded between Great Britain and Japan, the text of which will be found amongst our "Notes." The Emperor, in connection with the conclusion of the agreement, has conferred titles on several of the Ministers, and has made Baron Hayashi, Minister to Great Britain, a Viscount.

The issue of Exchequer Bills to the amount of 10,000,000 yen has been highly successful. The application reached a total of 15,500,000 yen.

PHILIPPINES.—The situation in the islands appears to be slowly improving, but some time must elapse before the number of American troops can be materially lessened.

EGYPT.—It has been proposed to create a commercial port at Port Said and connect it with the Egyptian railway system. It is understood that an agreement has been arrived at between the Government and the Suez Canal Company on this subject. This scheme would greatly tend to promote the development of Egyptian commerce.

The Caisse of the Public Debt has agreed to grant to the Government the extra expenditure incurred in the Assuan and Assiut reservoirs out of the Reserve Fund. The original estimate amounted to £2,000,000 sterling, provision for which was made by the Government at the time. The extra cost, now given by the Caisse, amounts to £1,500,000 sterling.

The accounts for 1901 show that the revenue amounted to £E12,160,000, as against £E11,663,000 during 1900, an increase of nearly £E500,000. The actual expenses incurred during 1901 amounted to £E9,924,000, being an increase of £E24,000 as compared with 1900. The balance of £E2,236,000 has been employed as follows: £E64,000 has been paid into the Sinking Fund, £E265,000 to the Economies Fund, and £E1,143,000 to the General Reserve Fund, which is controlled by the Caisse of the Public Debt. The remainder, £E764,000, represents the surplus at the disposal of the Government. The balances of the various reserve funds at the end of 1901 were as follows: Economies, £E4,491,000; General Reserve, £E3,795,000; Special Reserve, £E1,287,000; total £E9,573,000.

A camel caravan proceeding to Kumbek, some 210 miles north-west of Lado, was attacked by Dinkas, and during the fighting which ensued the officer in command, Lieutenant Scott-Barbour, of the Highland Light Infantry, was killed. A small detachment of Sudanese troops was immediately despatched to Kumbek from Gaba Shambah, the nearest point on the Nile.

ABYSSINIA.—The two hundred and first kilometre of the Jibuti and Harar Railway has been opened. The Negus was present, and expressed his satisfaction at the progress of the line.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—The laying of the rails of the Mombasa-Uganda Railway has been completed, the railhead having reached the shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The first locomotive arrived at Port Florence on December 20 last. The railway is 572 miles in length. The expenditure incurred up to the end of the last financial year amounted to £4,115,002, or, including the estimates for the current year, to £4,815,602. The population of the district traversed amounts to nearly 4,000,000.

Colonel Hayes Sadler has been appointed Commissioner for the Uganda Protectorate.

DELAGOA BAY.—An agreement has been come to between Great Britain and Portugal for the opening of the Delagoa Bay railway line for the transit of civil merchandise. It establishes through traffic rates on the old classification, and provides that no exceptions shall be made either as regards individuals or nationality in the forwarding of goods.

NATAL.—The imports for the year 1901 amounted to £9,789,104, against £6,075,227 in 1900. The exports were £4,792,097, against £1,135,322 during the previous year.

The estimates for the current financial year amount to £5,471,000 as compared with £4,674,967 last year. The loan expenditure shows an increase of £500,000, chiefly for the Cape-Natal Railway.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The net revenue for the six months ended December 31 last amounts to £32,000, notwithstanding that nothing has yet been received on account of railway profits, which in normal times varied from £400,000 to £500,000 a year. The total receipts for the period named were £131,000, while the expenditure amounted to £99,000.

A sum of £400,000 has been spent on the refugee camps, including £30,000 for the native camps. The whole of this expenditure has been recovered from Army funds.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports for the year ended December 31 last amounted to £23,990,543, against £19,678,336 in 1900. This total includes specie £2,575,871, against £2,516,525 in 1900. The exports amounted to £10,873,273, against £8,147,670 in the previous year. The main items are colonial products, £4,017,158; diamonds, £4,930,104; and gold, £1,225,899.

The net earnings of the Cape Government Railways during 1901 were equal to a dividend of £4 8s. 4d. per cent.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE SEAT OF WAR.—In January continuous rains everywhere interrupted operations in the Transvaal. Lord Methuen's column overtook a Boer commando near Boschport, and captured the whole laager. Kekewich surprised Klassen's laager at Paardeberg, taking prisoners. The Boers in the Eastern Transvaal have become demoralized on account of numerous captures made there by us. Commandant Hans Botha, General Ben Viljoen, and General Erasmus, and many other Boer officers, have been captured, and General J. D. Opperman killed. The blockhouse line has been several times rushed by the enemy by means of immense droves of cattle, and many of the enemy have crossed. Colonel Firman's camp at Tweefontein was successfully rushed by a large force of 1,200 under De Wet, when 6 officers, including Major Williams, and 50 men were killed, and 8 officers wounded. Lord Kitchener has given permission to the Boer General Vilonel to raise a new burgher corps of 1,500 men, and the General has written to ex-President Steyn telling him that the formation of the corps is the outcome of his obstinacy. The activity of some of the Boer leaders, notably De Wet and Delarey, is shown by a grave reverse which has lately befallen Lord Methuen's column, in the Western Transvaal. Nine hundred mounted troops, under Major Paris, with 300 infantry, 4 guns, and a pom-pom, were moving from Vryburg to Lichtenburg early on March 7, when they were attacked by Delarey's force. The column was thrown into confusion, mules stampeded, and a part of the mounted troops became panic-stricken. Five hundred troops escaped to Kraaipan. Major Paris, after a gallant defence, surrendered, together with Lord Methuen, who was dangerously wounded.

WEST AFRICA: THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE AROS.—Colonel Festing's column, after a vigorous pursuit, defeated the enemy and demolished the "Long Juju," and captured Loko on January 2. Columns 1, 2, and 4, under Major Aplin, Colonel Festing, and Colonel Heneker,

concentrated at Akwete on February 1. Opposition has been constantly encountered, but the results obtained were satisfactory, several important towns having submitted. The above columns moved on March 1 northwards from Olele, Asa, and Obegu respectively.

**NORTHERN NIGERIA.**—A force under Colonel Morland, the commandant, left for Lake Chad at the end of January, viâ Bauchi. Owing to the great distances to be traversed, some time must elapse before any detailed account of the expedition can be received. There is reason to believe that this expedition will mark the commencement of a permanent occupation of this remote portion of the British sphere, and that a garrison under white officers will be established at some point on the shores of the lake.

A British Resident has been established at Zaria, an important Hausa town belonging to the Amir of Sokoto. A new and important garrison has been established at Ilorin.

**CANADA.**—The total population of the Dominion at the end of 1901 was 5,369,666.

In Rossland and the boundary districts of British Columbia the gold and copper ore output for last year amounted in aggregate to 660,000 tons.

A bulletin issued by the Minister of Mines estimates the value of the mineral production of British Columbia in 1901 at \$20,713,501, being an increase of 25 per cent. over the previous year. The lode mines show an increase over 1900 of 57 per cent.

The treatment of lead ore by the Canadian Pacific Company's smelter, the reduced freight, and the Dominion bonus, will greatly stimulate the silver industry.

The aggregate foreign trade for the six months ended December 31 last showed an advance of \$13,605,066 over the same period in 1900. The imports increased by \$8,076,537, and the exports by \$5,528,529. The additional exports include nearly \$2,000,000 in fisheries, over \$4,000,000 in agriculture, and \$750,000 in manufactures.

Since the beginning of the Boer War, the Dominion has sent food and forage to the value of \$7,000,000 to South Africa on behalf of the War Office.

Sir Oliver Mowat, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, opened the Legislative Council on January 8.

The Dominion Parliament was opened by Lord Minto, the Governor-General, on February 13.

Senator Templeman, of British Columbia, has entered the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio.

Mr. David Mills, K.C., Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet, has resigned his portfolio, and accepted a Judgeship of the Supreme Court of Canada. He is succeeded by Mr. C. Fitzpatrick, K.C., the Solicitor-General.

Mr. Gordon Hunter, K.C., has been appointed Chief Justice of British Columbia.

The Royal Commission on the subject of Chinese immigration, after a thorough investigation, recommends that the further immigration of

Chinese labourers into the Dominion be prohibited, and suggests a treaty to accomplish this end. In the meantime it is proposed that the capitation tax be increased to \$500.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Revenue for the last quarter of 1901 was \$526,000, against \$504,000 for the same period of 1900. This is the largest total in the history of the colony.

The Government has renewed the *modus vivendi* with reference to the French shore for another year.

The winter herring fishery on the southern and western coast was one of the best on record. American fishermen have paid the coast folk \$220,000 for herring.

The census of 1901 shows that the population of the colony and Labrador numbers 220,249, against 202,040 in 1891.

AUSTRALASIA: NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the half year ended December 31 last amounted to £5,102,893, being a decrease of only £2,033, notwithstanding the large deduction for the transferred services. For the eight months ended February 28 it was £7,085,903, an increase of £120,876 as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year.

During the last ten years the tonnage of ships arriving in the ports of the colony have increased from 5,700,000 to 8,000,000, and during the last three years the exports have increased in value from £22,000,000 to upwards of £28,000,000, and the imports from £16,000,000 to £27,500,000 in value.

Vice-Admiral Sir Harry H. Rawson, K.C.B., has been appointed Governor.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1901 amounted to £3,943,076, an increase of £213,971.

Mr. Barton, the Federal Premier, has said that Australia must take a share in all matters affecting the integrity of the Empire, sending men and ships abroad, if necessary, to help in its wars.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce has made remonstrance against the Australian Bill stipulating that no postal contract shall be given unless white labour only is employed on the mail steamers.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—On the resignation in December last of Mr. Morgan's Ministry, Mr. Leake was summoned to form a new one, which is now composed as follows: Mr. G. Leake, Premier and Attorney-General; Mr. Kingsmill, Commissioner of Railways; Mr. Illingworth, Treasurer and Colonial Secretary; Mr. Gregory, Minister of Mines; Mr. Rason, Director of Public Works; Dr. Jameson, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Holmes, Honorary Minister in Council. Mr. Leake and Mr. Cornthwaite Rason have been re-elected in their constituencies by heavy majorities on assuming office.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1901 was £1,085,752, a decrease of £224,193.

TASMANIA.—The revenue returns for 1901 are about £100,000 less than in 1900, the chief shortage being in Customs, which, owing to the Commonwealth tariff, yielded £72,000 less than in the previous year.

The total revenue collected by the Commonwealth and the State was £954,000, as against £1,055,000 in the previous year.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue returns for the nine months ended December 31 last showed a total of £4,211,612, against £4,030,626 for the same period of 1900.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following :—Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, Lord Dufferin, successively Under-Secretary for India, Governor-General of Canada, Ambassador at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, Viceroy of India 1884-88, and also Ambassador at Rome and Paris ;—Field-Marshal Sir Neville Bowes Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (Afghanistan, Candahar, Ghazni and Kabul, Gwalior campaigns, second Sikh campaign, Mutiny, Waziri and Umbeyla expeditions) ;—General Sir Penrose Charles Penrose, late Royal Marines (North coast of Spain 1838, China 1841-42, Japan 1864-66) ;—Admiral Sir George Elliot, K.C.B. ;—General Sir Æneas Perkins, Colonel Commandant Royal Engineers, formerly of the old Bengal Engineers in 1851 (Mutiny campaign, Bhutan expedition 1864-65, Afghan war 1878-80, Kandahar 1880, Indian Public Works Department, etc.) ;—Major-General Edward Douglas Harvest, formerly of the 97th Foot (from 1872 to 1880 Commander of the Forces in Western Australia, and member of H.M. Executive Council) ;—Colonel Sir Henry Collett, a distinguished Indian officer (Eusufzai Frontier 1858, Oude campaign 1858-59, Cossyah and Jynteah Hills 1862-63, Abyssinian campaign 1868, Afghan war 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1886-88, Manipur Field Force 1891) ;—Major-General F. Hammersley (Crimea) ;—Major-General George Farquhar Kaye, late of the 21st Hussars (Mutiny campaign 1857-59) ;—Major-General H. P. Montgomery, formerly of the King's Royal Rifles (Kafir war 1851-53, China) ;—Major-General Frederick Hime, late of the Royal Engineers (North China campaign 1860) ;—Admiral Sir E. S. Sotheby, K.C.B. (Syria 1840, New Zealand 1846-47, Indian Mutiny campaign) ;—Major-General J. Godby, R.A., retired (Crimean campaign) ;—Admiral J. H. Selwyn (China, West Coast of Africa) ;—Colonel Sir William Ramsay-Fairfax (Crimea, India 1858-59) ;—Surgeon-General William Nash, M.D., Royal Army Medical Corps (African war 1878-80, Egypt 1882) ;—Lieutenant-General E. F. Bouchier, C.B. (Crimean campaign) ;—Commissary-General G. D. Lardner (Cape, New Zealand) ;—Major-General S. Stallard, late of the Bengal Artillery (North-West Frontier campaign 1852-53, Indian Mutiny) ;—General John Gray Touch, late Madras Staff Corps (second Burmese war 1852) ;—Admiral Charles Luxmore Hockin (Navarino, Syria 1840, West Coast of Africa 1844-46, Baltic) ;—Professor James Bradley Thayer, of the Harvard Law School, a leading American authority on constitutional law and law of evidence ;—Colonel A. W. J. Montgomerie, late of the 20th Hussars (Indian Mutiny campaign) ;—Captain W. Sotheby Douglas Brodie Ketchen, 1st batt. 5th Gurkhas, accidentally killed at Kurram (Hazara expedition 1891, Waziri expedition 1894-95) ;—Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Cochran, R.M.L.I. (Egypt 1882) ;—Mr. Patrick Duncan, for twenty-seven years in the Indian Public Works Department, in connec-



tion with State railways ;—Mr. Edmund William Smith, M.R.A.S., archaeological surveyor of the North-Western Provinces and Oude ;—Mr. Robert Turnbull, C.I.E. ;—Mr. William N. Pethick, for thirty years secretary and diplomatic adviser to Li Hung Chang, the late Chinese Viceroy ;—Colonel Charles Halford Thompson, formerly of the Royal Bengal Artillery ;—Mr. Charles L. Augustus de Niceville, State entomologist of India ;—Major Francis Beaumaris Bulkeley, formerly of the 65th Regiment (New Zealand wars 1860-61 and 1863-65) ;—Captain Antonie Sloet Butler, C.B., formerly of the 7th Dragoon Guards (Kafir war 1846-47) ;—Veterinary-Major Walter Boulton Spooner, Army Veterinary Department (Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Mr. Thomas Dunbar Ingram, LL.D., formerly Professor of Jurisprudence and of Hindu and Muhammadan Law in the Presidency College, Calcutta ;—Rear-Admiral Frederick William Hallows (Crimea, China 1858 and 1865, Abyssinia expedition) ;—Mr. E. E. Morris, Professor of Literature in the University of Melbourne ;—Commander E. Algar, R.N. (China 1841-42) ;—Lieutenant James Webber (Nile and Khartum expedition for relief of General Gordon) ;—Mr. Lewis Price Delves Broughton, late Administrator-General in Bengal ;—Dr. Baurath von Schich, a well-known Palestine explorer ;—Major T. Burnett Ramsay, Rifle Brigade, in South Africa (Burma 1886-88) ;—the Hon. J. W. Gwynne, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada ;—Major G. Albanus Williams, 1st South Staffordshire Regiment, in South Africa (Zulu campaign 1879, Nile expedition 1884-85, Ashanti) ;—The Nawab of Dacca, Sir Kwaja Asanullah ;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Bacon, late Army Pay Department (Crimean campaign, Zulu war 1879) ;—Dr. John Birrell, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages ;—Lieutenant James Webber (Alexandria, Nile, and Khartum expeditions) ;—Brevet-Major J. M. Vallentin, Somersetshire Light Infantry, killed in South Africa (Burma expedition 1886-87) ;—Captain C. P. Down, I.S.C., Frontier Commission, Political Officer with Tochi Force (Miranzai expedition 1891, Bonar Field Force 1894-95) ;—Dr. Wordsworth Poole, M.B., C.M.G., Physician to the British Legation at Peking ;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. L. Morley, formerly 79th Cameron Highlanders (Mauritius, India, Cape) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel C. Thackeray, formerly of the 28th Foot (Okamundel Field Force) ;—Chief Justice McCall, of the Supreme Court of British Columbia ;—Colonel W. Stoddart, Madras Staff Corps, retired (Indian Mutiny campaign) ;—Mr. W. Griffiths, Bengal Education Department ;—Captain Charles de St. Croix, late 2nd Queen's Royal Regiment (Crimean war) ;—Dr. Daniel Wright, Surgeon-Major, I.M.S. ;—Mr. Lancelot Ricketts, of the Maisur State Service ;—Hon. Pandit Suraj Kaul, C.I.E., Member of the Panjab Provincial Legislative Council ;—Major Randolph Edward Whitehead, 1st Batt. Munster Fusiliers, in South Africa ;—Captain Christie (Indian Mutiny) ;—Captain Angus Menzies, 1st Batt. Manchester Regiment, in South Africa (Miranzai expedition 1891, defence of Ladysmith) ;—Mr. John Frederic Lowder, formerly Consul in Japan, and latterly in the service of the Mikado ;—The Right Rev. H. Brougham Bousfield, Bishop of Pretoria ;—Colonel W. A. J. Wallace, C.I.E., late R.E. ; he played a prominent part in the development

of railways in India ;—Commander Edgar Slade, R.N. (retired), one of the last survivors of Navarino ;—Raja Sayyid Muhammad Bakeradi Khan Sahib Bahadur, C.I.E., Meer of Kotaha, and Raja of Pindrawal ;—Sir Conrad Reeves, Chief Justice of Barbados ;—Major the Earl of Munster, D.S.O., of the 3rd Militia Batt. Royal Scots, in South Africa (Afghan war 1879-80, Boer war 1881) ;—Major-General C. W. Barry, R.E. ;—General George Palmer Whish (Afghanistan 1842, Panjab campaign 1848-49) ;—Major William Wood (Crimea, Indian Mutiny campaign) ;—Lieutenant-General Coote Syngé-Hutchinson (Indian campaign 1858-59) ;—P. Ramchandra Pillay, a leader of the native community and lawyer of Secunderabad ;—Colonel E. C. Knox, 18th Hussars, and lately commanding 2nd Cavalry Brigade in South Africa (Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Colonel J. G. E. Griffith, late Bombay Staff Corps (Abyssinian war 1868, Afghanistan 1879, Suakim expedition 1885) ;—Right Rev. Dr. Victor Sinibaldi, Roman Catholic Bishop of Allahabad ;—Swami Ramanand Bharati, a Bengali Sanyasi of some repute ;—The Nawab Sultan Dulah, husband of the Begum of Bhopal ;—The Hon. R. R. Dobell, member of the Privy Council of Canada ;—M. Ballay, Governor-General of French West Africa ;—Colonel R. J. Maxwell, late 80th Regiment (Indian Mutiny, Oude campaign 1858-59) ;—Mr. C. E. D. Pennycook, C.M.G., formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service) ;—Captain W. Greenhill Silverlock, R.N. (Baltic 1855) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Keays-Young (Persian campaign 1856-57, Mutiny) ;—Sir Griffith H. Pugh Evans, formerly Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, and member of the Viceroy's council ;—Major H. W. Seymour, I.S.C. (Afghan war 1880) ;—General F. C. Anderson, late Bengal Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Mutiny campaign 1857-58) ;—The Hon. Sir John Colton, a former Premier of South Australia ;—Captain F. Pavy, formerly of the 74th Highlanders (Indian Mutiny) ;—Lalla Kishen Sahai Rai Bahadur, a well-known banker and zemindar of Meerut ;—Mr. W. Taylor, agent to the Raja of Parla Kimedi ;—Dr. Holub, an African explorer ;—Paymaster-in-Chief F. L. M. Dyer, R.N. (Baltic 1855, China 1856-57) ;—Captain Francis Pavy, formerly 74th Highlanders (Indian Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. J. Rawnesley, formerly Assistant-Commissary-General of Ordnance (Canton 1857) ;—Captain Hood, Central India Horse, killed in South Africa ;—Mr. T. W. Brookes, formerly a member of the Bengal Legislative Council ;—Colonel Boileau (Mutiny) ;—Mr. James Craik, deputy-chairman of the Southern Mahratta Railway ;—Mr. John Henry Ozanne, C.M.G., Travelling Commissioner on the Gambia ;—Major-General Mordaunt Martin Fitzgerald, a Bengal and R.A. officer (Miranzai and Upper Kurram expeditions, Buzdar Baluchi expedition 1857, Mutiny, etc.) ;—Major Francis John Fox, late R.A. (Kandahar 1880, Sudan campaign 1885) ;—Captain Alexander Nelson Hood, I.S.C., 1st Central India Horse, killed in South Africa ;—Captain F. R. Coates, 1st Batt. Northumberland Fusiliers, killed in South Africa (Sudan campaign) ;—Major N. E. Young, R.F.A., in South Africa (Dongola expedition 1896) ;—Lieutenant Arthur Freshwater, Quartermaster of R.A.M.C. in South Africa (Bechuanaland expedition 1884) ;—The Venerable Archdeacon J. Palmer, B.D., acting head of the

Melanesian Mission (at Auckland) ;—Captain Gaetano Casati, a well-known African explorer ;—Lieutenant-General J. Patrick Redmond, c.B. (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Eusufzai expedition, Kohat Pass 1850, Mutiny) ;—Colonel R. C. Germon, late I.S.C. (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny) ;—Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, late Prime Minister of Haidarabad ;—Major-General Pewzoff, known for his explorations in Central Asia, Mongolia, and Tibet ;—Major Richard John Gordon Creed, of the Reserve of officers, formerly Leicestershire Regiment (Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Surgeon-General Sir William Guyer-Hunter, K.C.M.G. (second Burmese war, Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Strickland Mannoek, late of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and 18th Hussars (Abyssinia 1868) ;—Captain A. A. Fisher, late of the Prince of Wales's Own West Yorkshire Regiment, special service officer Rhodesian Field Force (Dongola 1896, Uganda 1898) ;—The Right Hon. Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I., etc. (India 1848-1880) ;—Major W. H. Beaumont, late of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers and Madras Fusiliers (Mutiny campaign, Abyssinia 1868) ;—Major-General H. B. A. Poulton, late of the Bengal Staff Corps (Sind 1843) ;—The Rev. George Small, a learned Oriental scholar, and former missionary in India of the Baptist Missionary Society ;—Captain Alfred Eaton, R.N. (Crimea, China) ;—Colonel R. Coleman Eaton, Royal Army Medical Corps (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. E. Herne, late of the 103rd Foot (Panjab campaign 1848-49) ;—Lieutenant and Quartermaster Stanley James Barton, 1st batt. Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment (Egyptian War 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98).

*March 24, 1902.*







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